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**The Challenge of Policy Coordination:
Interpreting Governance of the
Historic City Centres in Serbia**

Jelisaveta Mihajlović

PhD

2016

The Challenge of Policy Coordination: Interpreting Governance of the Historic City Centres in Serbia

Jelisaveta Mihajlović

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the University of
Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the Faculty for
Engineering and Environment

2016

Abstract

This research *seeks to establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process.* The twofold objective of this research is to increase our understanding of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, and to identify and explain barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination. In so doing, this research embraces the interpretative paradigm to examine conservation and governance of the historic city centres as a contextualised and subjective process that takes into account what is meaningful to policy actors. This research is important as it highlights the importance of studying the micro-social processes because policy-relevant, organisational learning is situated within ongoing policy-related practices. This research demonstrates the complexity of policy process and the amount of coordination needed to address policy agenda.

This research makes three contributions to knowledge. First, it provides interpretation of governance of the historic environment in the new context, namely Serbia. Second, it extends our knowledge of micro-social and micro-political aspects of heritage governance. In so doing, it applies interpretive approaches to explore the research field that has been underresearched. And finally, this research extends our knowledge about the policy coordination in urban governance and governance of the historic environment by identifying a range of factors that combined could inhibit or support an overall effort towards policy coordination.

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Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the School Ethics Committee on 14 January 2008.

Jelisaveta Mihajlović

29 April 2016

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Introduction

Background to the research

Can governance of the historic city centres succeed in a complex array of actors, networks and organisations involved in the policy deliberation? This question lies at the heart of controversies in studying practice of governance in the face of complex relations of power, political loyalties, interests, personal and collective identities, and it reaches far beyond the surface to grasp the micro-political dimensions of planning practices (Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b). However, this question rises another one: how can historic city centres bestow the identity and sense of place for their inhabitants and keep developing? So the controversy becomes how to reconcile the competing demands for preservation of character of the historic areas on the one hand, and management of growth as a response to changing societal needs on the other? This dilemma draws attention to the areas of underlying tensions between actors, networks and organisations involved, but also policies and practices of urban governance and heritage conservation (Kocabas, 2006; Nasser, 2003; Tiesdal, Oc, & Heath, 1996; Strange, 1997; Pendlebury, 2002). In other words, the most important challenge becomes how to ensure effective governance of the historic city centres as this process involves a great deal of coordination between different aspects of policy, various departments, organisations or policy sectors, the plan-making, as well as policy negotiation that could uncover barriers and opportunities that could potentially infringe or support an overall effort.

Both heritage conservation and spatial planning were established as separate fields and it was only with the introduction of comprehensive spatial planning in the 1970s across Europe that their integration became more of the policy issue (Delafons, 1997; Roth, 2004; Strange & Whitney, 2003). That resulted in efforts being invested in producing comprehensive knowledge base to be able to rise to the challenge. Literature review highlighted various themes that emerged and were of interests to academics and practitioners in relation to conservation and governance of the historic

city centres. Most importantly, it identified that a huge attention has been given to the development of general, theoretical knowledge ranging from policy and legislation guidelines to different kinds of recommendations and their transfer to and institutionalisation in the national contexts. The dominant theory has been developed alongside with the conventions and resolutions the Council of Europe, which once ratified by the country, become legally binding, and the UNESCO and ICOMOS charters and recommendations, as they had a huge influence on the national legislations and practices. The value of this dominant theory lay in a fact that it influenced formulation of the legislation, as well as formation of the institutions and practice internationally, therefore playing important role in producing prescriptive approaches that guided practice and the development of legislation, as well as tools and mechanisms for its implementation, without paying much attention to the contextual factors. However, it is because of those contextual factors – such as the organisational culture, tacit knowledge, practices, traditions or behaviour –, that policy transfer often does not work as it presupposes the condition of certainty which is not applicable to most of the planning and policy problems (Blyth, 2002; Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Yanow, 2000). In other words, the dominant theory rests on the assumption that policy is transferable from one local or national context to another regardless the contextual factors that could affect policy interpretation and implementation. That implies that the underlying assumptions of this dominant theoretical grounding arise from the normative and positivist accounts.

The research problem and contributions to knowledge

This research represents a pursuit for better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Against this background, this research seeks to establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process.

Although comprehensive integrated spatial planning has become a tradition in many countries, insufficient coordination between different aspects of policy, various departments, organisations or policy sectors can potentially infringe an overall effort of efficient governance of the historic city centres.

This research is driven by the problematisation aiming to challenge and question approaches underlying existing literature, as well as to disrupt the established line of thinking (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013). This research challenges normative and positivist approaches to studying governance of the historic environment and offers interpretive accounts of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. This research embraces interpretive paradigm to question established theory because interpretivism assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings are socially constructed and co-created between the knower and the respondent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012).

The problems addressed in this research are twofold. Firstly, this research provides a *comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. In essence, this research asks following questions: *how contextual factors such as practices and local traditions influence governance of the historic city centres in Serbia? And, how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*

Secondly, this research *identifies barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. *Why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another? What type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?* In particular, this research will identify factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination.

Essentially, this research claims that organisational rationality plays important role in shaping the decision making process and the behaviour of policy actors, and that also has a potential to create barriers and opportunities, decide on how policy issues are interpreted and what gets to constitute accepted arguments in the policy debate, and what does not. Moreover, this research claims that organisational rationality that underpins the practice of governance is heterogeneous phenomenon and that the way organisations have been design and governed will depend, both on the national culture, and on the local culture as it depends on norms, values and knowledge of the local policy actors.

This research fundamentally makes three contributions to knowledge. First, it provides interpretation of governance of the historic environment in the new context, namely Serbia. Second, it extends our knowledge on micro-social and micro-political aspects of heritage governance. In so doing, it applies interpretive approaches to explore a research field that has been underresearched. And finally, this research extends our knowledge about the policy coordination in urban governance and governance of the historic environment by identifying a range of factors that combined could inhibit or support an overall effort towards policy coordination.

Justification for the research

This research has both theoretical and practical relevance. The most important is theoretical relevance which could be subsumed as follows.

This research contributes to urban governance theory and in particular to the theory of governance of the historic environment in several important ways. First, this research addresses specific research problem of a relative neglected by previous researchers by challenging underlying assumptions of the dominant theory and disrupting the established line of thinking. The literature review identified that huge attention has been assigned to the development of a general, theoretical knowledge that includes policy and legislation guidelines, as well as different kinds of recommendations and their transfer to and institutionalisation in the national contexts. Although the value of this dominant theory is huge as it influenced formulation of the legislation and formation of the institutions and practice internationally, as a consequence, it supported production of prescriptive, normative approaches without paying much attention to the contextual factors that embrace the role of subjectivity in the constitution of social reality. This research aims to rectify that gap and, together with a handful number of previous researches identified in the literature review, advance the understanding of complex reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic environment and the policy coordination entailed by that process. For another, this research produces important insights by interpreting governance of the historic city centres as there is a considerable lack of comprehensive body of knowledge that focuses on micro-social relations. Studies conducted at a micro-social level provide detailed and contextualised descriptions of a small part of a society, but due to its richness and depth of details, they are used to describe a wider society (White, 2007; Williams, 2000). As a consequence, this

research contributes to the development of theory on governance of the historic environment.

The practical relevance of this research corresponds with the last two stated original contributions to knowledge, that is to say, it advances knowledge about the tensions between conservation and planning and it identifies barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination in the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. In both cases there is a lack of comprehensive analysis that would identify and explain particular concerns that policy actors in the field of governance of the historic environment should take into consideration. This research aims to rectify this lack by specifying different areas where underlying tensions could potentially arise and providing comprehensive accounts of opportunities and barriers for policy coordination. In this way, this research hopes to contribute to both policy and practice.

Methodology

This research is grounded in interpretive tradition. It uses a group of different approaches that share the emphasis on language and communication – *interpretive policy analysis*, *frame analysis* and *discourse analysis* –, that all could be subsumed under the approach called *the argumentative policy analysis*. Such approach is chosen because it has several unique advantages. Firstly, interpretive research is helpful in unravelling hidden reasons behind complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors (Bevir, 2011b; Scott, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). Secondly, interpretive research is well suited for theory construction where there is no prior theory or it is insufficient (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Roe, 1994). And finally, argumentative policy analysis is particularly well suited for investigating actors' interpretations of policy process and identifying conflicting frames of understanding that could undermine policy coordination process (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012). In this light, argumentative policy analysis as a method can be seen as a structured way of investigating how ideas and discourses are transmitted across the policy field, experienced, given meaning and translated into action by policy actors.

Research strategy deployed here is *the exploratory multiple case studies research*. The term *exploratory* here refers to a systematic data collection aimed at maximising the discovery of generalisations based on different understandings of the practice of

governance of the historic city centres in Serbia (Blatter, 2008; Stebins, 2008; Yin, 2008). The exploratory multiple case studies are used here to investigate under-researched area with an aim to generate new theories of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Studying organisations is about understanding the social world they inhabit, exploring the attitudes, behaviours and experiences of policy actors, and grasping the documents, texts, meanings, beliefs and facts they produce (Stablein, 1999). The data collection process started with the collection of policy and legal documents, followed by the conduct of in-depth semi-structured interviews and writing of the field notes.

Limitations and delimitations of the research

Murray and Beglar (2009) assert that no research is designed to be applied to all persons and all situations. Therefore, it is important to define boundaries of the research in terms of its limitations and delimitations.

By definition limitations are potential weaknesses of the research conducted that are out of the researcher's control (Murray & Beglar, 2009; Rugg & Petre, 2004; Dunleavy, 2003). In the execution of this research there are both strengths and weaknesses. For instance, the design of the interviews has allowed for a wide range of information to be gathered from a number of different sources. The coded responses from the respondents have ameliorated interpretation of the data, by making the recognition of patterns and trends easier. One of the weaknesses of the interviews conducted is the bias towards official policy actors and the preponderance of formal planning practices. Yet such bias would have been difficult to avoid as unofficial planning actors, such as local inhabitants or informal civic groups, are hard to trace. Although it would be an advantage to have their testimony, there is evidence from the individual case studies of their activities having influence on public opinion.

Another weakness of this research potentially could be that data used here represent only a snapshot in time as they were collected from November 2008 to February 2011 and that could be a limiting factor in terms of scope of the findings or ability of this research to effectively answer the research questions. In order to trace local knowledge, traditions and practices, it would be more valuable to have data derived over a longer period of time, but that was not possible due to limited amount of time allocated for completion of the PhD research. Still, policy

documents used for the analysis, as well as study of the context presented in Chapters 3 and 4 provide useful insights that span longer period of time.

Delimitations set boundaries of the research that are within the researcher's control (Murray & Beglar, 2009; Rugg & Petre, 2004; Dunleavy, 2003). Delimitation of this research relates to the methods chosen so that research objectives are not impossibly large to complete. This research challenges underlying assumptions by disrupting the established line of thinking by embracing *interpretive paradigm* to question dominant theory and as a result it assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings and knowledge are socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012; Fischer, 2003). In practice that means that this research implies central role of an individual who acquire their knowledge through interpretation that is subjective and reflects their education, experience and training, as well as the individual, familial and communal background (Fischer, 2007; Yanow, 2000). Thus, by embracing interpretivism this research emphasises agency over structure. This is especially of importance in relation to research of policy coordination as the emphasis on understandings and meanings means that structural issues that could represent opportunity or barrier were not explored in detail.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is written in an effort to provide a better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Policy actors often operate within a complex and chaotic organisational setting in order to achieve optimum policy outcome. Yet, a complex array of actors, networks and organisations involved in the policy coordination makes the whole process uncertain as it entails complex relations of power, political loyalties, interests, personal and collective identities, and it reaches into the micro-political dimensions of planning practices. The aim of the research presented here is to *establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process*. In order to do so, this thesis is structured in four parts.

The first part – *Theoretical and methodological groundings* – consists of the Chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 1 – *Literature review* – provides a background to the context of the research and identifies the key theories in order to create theoretical base upon which to study governance of the historic city centres. The Chapter begins with a review of the intellectual history of area-based conservation and governance, and discussion about the variety of themes and issues developed by international doctrine and practices. It continues by presenting problematisations of assumptions that are often taken for granted, namely the normative bias of the previous research and practice in governance of the historic environment that resulted in neglect of the contextual factors, and overemphasis of the objectivist approach. As a result, the next section of the literature review examines the complexity of urban governance from a micro-social perspective by looking at the contextual nature of practice of urban governance and complex relationships between actors, networks and institutions. Literature review concludes with the discussion on urban governance and policy coordination. Chapter closes with the discussion about the contributions that can be made by the new research and it draws conclusions about the approach that is likely to be best suited to the investigation. Finally, Chapter presents the research aims, objectives and specific research questions.

Chapter 2 – *Methodology* – explores the challenge of researching governance of the historic city centres from the interpretive perspective. Chapter begins by considering the methodological groundings of interpretivism and proposes the argumentative policy analysis approach comprising of a group of different approaches that share the emphasis on language and communication – interpretive policy analysis, frame analysis and discourse analysis. Chapter 2 then describes the research strategy and the development of interview protocol used to collect the data and presents detail account of data used in this research. After that, it proceeds by assessing quality of the research by proposing the criteria for judging interpretive research. Finally, it presents the analytic categories developed to analyse data collected and evaluate how those contribute to the research of policy coordination in urban governance.

The second part – *Contextualising the case studies* – consists of the Chapters 3 and 4 and presents a parent theory for studying the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Chapter 3 – *Serbian spatial planning practice in context* – examine how spatial planning and governance in Serbia evolved, starting with the post Second World War Yugoslavia, and investigate the ways in which urban problems have been constructed. It also explores the changes in spatial planning

legislation and practice in relation to the political, socio-economic and institutional context and societal processes and dynamics.

Chapter 4 – *Governance of the historic city centres in Serbia* – builds further on by providing the comprehensive review of the development and institutionalisation of heritage conservation in Serbia in the post Second World War period and its integration into spatial planning. It then continues with the analysis of the empirical evidence collected – namely, the policy documents in force and interviews conducted –, in order to better understand organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. As a result, Chapters 3 and 4 provide a parent theory, or a contextual background for the analysis of the three chosen case studies.

The Part 2 – *The case studies* – consists of the Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and presents the analysis of three selected case studies in Serbia, namely Subotica, Pančevo and Kragujevac. The analysis presented in these chapters is based entirely on the empirical data comprising of the policy documents, interviews and field notes and it is organised around the four themes established during the data analysis – policies and ideas, political and economic setting, management, cultural and personal factors, and finally, bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation. All three Chapters close with the discussion of findings. The second and the third part of this thesis represent the analytical core of this thesis.

Chapter 8 and also the fourth part – *Interpreting governance of the historic city centres in Serbia* – presents detail discussion of the findings in relation to research objectives and key questions. Drawing from empirical findings presented in the Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and contextualised in parent theory presented in Chapters 3 and 4, this Chapter critically interpret findings organised around the three original contributions to knowledge, that is, it provides comprehensive interpretation of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, clarifies tensions existing between heritage conservation and town planning, and identifies the barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination. This Chapter concludes by highlighting the similarities and differences between the chosen case studies and their policy arenas in terms of policy coordination.

The final Chapter – *Conclusions and implications* – provides an overview of the thesis as a whole. It begins by revisiting each of the research problems. The next section considers the contributions to knowledge this research makes, followed by the

discussion of the contribution this research makes to policy and practice in relation to the study of policy coordination in the context of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. The chapter ends by offering future avenues of research.

PART 1: Theoretical and methodological groundings of the research

CHAPTER 1: Literature review

Introduction

This literature review provides a background to the context of the research and identifies the key theories in order to create theoretical base upon which to study governance of the historic city centres. In particular, this research is set to *explore and better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. Against that background *this research seeks to establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process*.

The purpose of this literature review is threefold. Firstly, to identify the contributions that can be made by the new research and how that new research might add to the existing research and debates. Secondly, to draw conclusions about the approach that is likely to be best suited to the investigation by reviewing the theories and approaches previously used to study the topic. And finally to assist reaching specific research questions. As discussed in the Introduction, three fields in the literature were identified and those will be discussed more into details here.

The first part – *heritage conservation and spatial planning* – provides the basis for understanding the variety of themes that are of interest to the academics in relation to conservation and governance of the historic city centres, but it also highlights the point of departure this research is making by discussing the normative bias of the previous research and practice in governance of the historic environment.

The second part – *the complexity of urban governance* – builds upon the previous part and looks at the contextual nature of the practice of urban governance by looking at the complex relations between actors, networks and institutions in the face of power,

conflict and control. As a result, it reaches to the micro-political features of planning practices.

And finally, the third part – *policy coordination and urban planning* – brings the discussion further on by providing a context for understanding policy coordination as a process of management of cross-cutting issues that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields and/or do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments. Considering that governance of the historic environment cuts across sectors, it reviews the research on policy coordination in urban planning and identifies some of the shortcomings and constraints on effective policy coordination in practice.

The section that follows discusses findings of the literature review in order to narrow down the research problem to the concrete research questions, as well as to identify the areas of potential contributions. Also, it draws conclusions about the approach best suited for the research.

Part 1: Heritage conservation and spatial planning

Heritage conservation and spatial planning have become largely complementary processes since the introduction of comprehensive planning in the 1970s in many European countries. For instance, heritage has assumed the new economic and social roles in, what is often called, ‘culture-led regeneration’ projects, as well as in more fashionable ‘flagship property regeneration’ projects (de Frantz, 2005; Evans, 2005; Miles S. , 2005; Pendlebury, 2002). However, the competing demands for the preservation of character of the historic areas on the one hand, and management of growth as a response to changing societal needs on the other, draw attention to the areas of underlying tensions (Kocabas, 2006; Nasser, 2003; Tiesdal, Oc, & Heath, 1996; Strange, 1997; Pendlebury, 2002). Although comprehensive integrated spatial planning involves a great deal of coordination between different aspects of policy, various departments, organisations or policy sectors, the process of plan-making, urban governance and policy negotiation could uncover barriers and opportunities that could potentially infringe or support an overall effort of governance of the historic areas.

This part of literature review will outline the broader field of research that will then lead into the focus on the research problem providing the introduction into issues discussed in the following two parts. This review highlights various themes that emerged and are of interests to the academics in relation to conservation and governance of the historic city centres. The first concept discusses the meanings and uses of heritage in which the intention is to discuss the multitude of understandings and roles heritage plays for academics and professionals. The second concept reviews the international doctrine regarding area-based conservation that has huge impact on national legislation and practice. The third section focuses on the relationship between heritage and development and it continues with the fourth concept that looks at how conservation and planning practices have evolved as largely complementary processes over time. The final section presents the point of departure this research is making by discussing the normative and positivist bias of the previous research and practice in governance of the historic environment.

The meanings and uses of heritage

The term *heritage* was commonly borrowed from legal terminology in order to describe the inheritance to which descendants have a right to, or the inheritance that could be passed from one generation to the next and following generations (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004; Pearce, 2000). However, the term also embraces an intrinsic relationship between those who went before and those who came after, extending the meaning “to include almost any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, wanted or not, between societies as well as individuals” (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004, p. 1).

The idea of *cultural heritage* is an extension of the basic concept of heritage encompassing ideological elements, and separating ideological connotations attached from the property itself. Pearce (2000), in supporting this concept, argues that no social idea exist without its physical manifestation, so correspondingly, no physical manifestation lacks its ideological information. Not only is heritage physical manifestation of ideology, it could be politically contested as a result of invoked memories, values and ideas, embedded in place (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004; Urry, 1995).

These arguments lead to the next significant point which is that cultural heritage is *socially constructed*. It is defined and articulated within cultural and economic practices (Graham, 2006), and represents an external expression of identity (Pearce, 2000 (Graham & Howard, 2008)). In this respect, perhaps it is easier to conceptualise heritage through the idea of *representation* (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004). Graham (2006) asserts that dominant ideologies create specific place identities which reinforce support for a particular state structure and related political ideologies. As a consequence, heritage becomes an instrument of nurturing that identity, drawing on the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’. On the other hand, Hall (1997) and Graham (2002), in support of the idea of representation, argue that culture is essentially concerned with the *production and exchange of meanings*, becoming the signifying practice, in the same way as language is. These meanings are produced and exchanged through social interactions and consumption and they help set up rules, norms and conventions of our conduct: “it is us – in society, within human culture – who make things mean, who signify. Meaning, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another” (Hall, 1997, p. 61). In support of this argument, de la Tore (2002) and Smith (2006) suggest that heritage is strongly shaped by the social contexts and practices since *culture is a set of practices*, and not a collection of ‘things’. Artefacts are not static embodiments of culture but are, rather, a medium through which identity, power and society are produced and reproduced. In that sense, heritage clearly becomes also a *political resource* because it helps define the meaning of culture and power, thus assuming socio-political function.

In advancing this idea, Graham (2002) defines heritage as ‘a *knowledge*’, a cultural product and a political resource that constitutes both economic and cultural capital. Livingstone (1992) suggests that the nature of such knowledge is always negotiated within specific social and intellectual circumstances. Another definition, offered by Throsby (2001), suggests that heritage is *cultural capital* since the type of value that is embodied in these assets is yielded by the goods and services they produce. But heritage is also an *economic resource*, exploited as a primary component to promote tourism, economic development and urban regeneration.

Although heritage is a cultural ‘good’, it is an economic ‘good’ too and it is commodified as such (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004). A growing commercial heritage industry, as well as culture-led urban regeneration projects are commodifying the past into heritage products and experiences as a part of consumption and entertainment. In support of this argument, Graham (2006) emphasizes that heritage

is defined by the meanings of the past in the present. At the same time, heritage is political in the terms that public heritage is designated and usually interpreted through public policies (Ashworth, 2006).

International doctrine regarding area-based conservation

Debates within the international organisations, such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Council of Europe, have significantly deepened and expanded the concepts of heritage and conservation. Their activity has included the drawing up of charters, recommendations and conventions, which in turn has influenced policy and practice. In particular, ICOMOS, UNESCO and Council of Europe contributed to critical examination, redefinition and shifting of the understanding internationally of concepts as heritage and conservation, as well as introduction of the new concepts such as groups of buildings, historic areas, historic towns or urban quarters. Those expanded and shifted the practice towards now widely accepted approaches of 'integrated conservation' and 'area-based conservation', and triggered proliferation of recommendations on appropriate policies on integration of conservation into spatial planning.

In the terms of area-based conservation, in 1964, *the Venice Charter* shifted the focus from single monument protection to the concept of historic monument that embraces "[...] not only the single architectural work but also the *urban or rural setting* in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event (ICOMOS, 1964, Article 1)." The 1972 *UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* went step further by defining *groups of buildings* as "groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science." This UNESCO's definition extended previous definitions and has attributed certain values to protected groups of buildings, such as architectural, historical, artistic and scientific.

The concept of *integrated conservation* officially has been introduced through *the Amsterdam Declaration* of the Congress on the European Architectural Heritage (Council of Europe, 1975) and further elaborated through *Resolution 76 (28)* adopted

by Committee of Ministers (Council of Europe, 1976). *The Amsterdam Declaration* emphasised basic considerations concerning the problems historic towns and areas are facing concluding that protection policies should be devised to safeguard the traditional environment of historic towns and areas, as well as towns and villages, taking into consideration their traditional character, interaction of the functions and continuance of the social and cultural diversity (Council of Europe, 1975; Pickard, 2002). *The Amsterdam Declaration* identified that “integrated conservation involves the responsibility of local authorities and calls for citizens’ participation”. Furthermore, it established three principles of integrated conservation.

1. *Integrated conservation of the cultural heritage of monuments and sites is one of the basic constituents of regional town and country planning; [...]*
2. *The integrated conservation of a country’s cultural heritage of monuments and sites concerns its citizens first and foremost; [...]*
3. *Public authorities at national, regional, and local levels have special responsibilities in the integrated conservation of the cultural heritage of monuments and sites. (Council of Europe, 1976, Section 2, Articles 1, 2 and 3)*

These principles called upon a more “human approach to regional and town planning policy” (Council of Europe, 1976, Section 2, Article 1) emphasising that comprehensive policy measures are required for the monuments, groups of buildings and sites to be integrated into social life. In addition, balance between man and his traditional environment must be maintained in order to “prevent the debasement of those assets inherited from the past on which the quality of the environment largely depends” (Council of Europe, 1976, Section 2, Article 2). The last one of three principles in particular called for public authorities to play a direct role in ensuring that restoration funds are allocated, private initiative encouraged, and adequate training for professionals involved in preservation processes ensured (Council of Europe, 1976, Section 2, Article 3; Pickard, 2002).

Section 3 of *the Recommendation 76 (28)* introduces implementation measures aimed at providing guidelines for legislation relating to heritage protection, land-use planning and housing advocating different legislation approaches in order to enable them to be mutually compatible and complementary (Council of Europe, 1976; Pickard, 2002). Four types of measures were introduced to ensure national integrated conservation policies are achieved – financial, administrative, social and awareness-raising measures (Council of Europe, 1976, Section 3).

Shortly after, in 1976, UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* at its General Conference in Nairobi urging member states to agree to “comprehensive and energetic policies for the protection and revitalisation of historic areas and their surroundings as part of national, regional and local planning” (UNESCO, 1976). The *Recommendation* itself provides a comprehensive definition of *historic areas*.

Historic and architectural (including vernacular) areas shall be taken to mean any groups of buildings, structures and open spaces including archaeological and paleontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban or rural environment, the cohesion and value of which, from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, aesthetic or socio-cultural point of view are recognized. (UNESCO, 1976, Article 1)

This 1976 *Recommendation* also asserted the importance of historic areas for the society in the terms of their role in defining cultural diversity and the identity of individual communities. It emphasised that although the situation entails the responsibilities for every citizen, it is public authorities' obligation to adopt necessary legal measures. The particular importance of this document is that it provides recommendations concerning legal and administrative measures, as well as, technical, economic and social measures. Also, in Article 3 the *Recommendation* states that “historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings”. It also states that all valid elements, including human activities, have significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded.

In 1987, the *ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* – also known as *the Washington charter* (ICOMOS, 1987) – stated that: “the conservation of historic towns and urban areas is understood to mean those steps necessary for protection, conservation and restoration of historic areas, as well as their development and harmonious adaptation to contemporary life”. It also identifies that “urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at every level” (Article 1). Furthermore, in Article 2, it is noted that qualities to be preserved include the historic character of the town or urban area and all those material and spiritual elements that express this character:

(a) urban patterns as defined by lots and streets, (b) relationships between buildings and green and open spaces, (c) the formal appearance, interior and exterior, of buildings as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour and decoration, (d) the relationship between the town or urban area and its surrounding setting, both natural and man-made, and (e) the various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time. Any threat to these qualities would compromise the authenticity of the historic town or urban area (ICOMOS, 1987, Article 2).

The *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe* – also known as the Granada Convention (Council of Europe, 1985) –, in Article 1, Section 2 defines groups of buildings as: “homogeneous groups of urban or rural buildings conspicuous for their historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest which are sufficiently coherent to form topographically definable units”. Furthermore, *Explanatory Report on the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage* (Council of Europe, 1985) explains that compliance with one or more of qualitative criteria “means that the property concerned may be deemed a part of the architectural heritage”. It starts from the recognition that “architectural heritage constitutes an irreplaceable expression of the richness and diversity of Europe’s Cultural Heritage”, and provides two main reasons for conserving of the architectural heritage: a *cultural purpose*, i.e. the architectural heritage is a key element in the cultural development at the national, regional and European level; and a *need for integrated conservation of the heritage*, in the perspective of improvement of the living environment and of the contribution to economic development (Council of Europe, 1985).

Heritage and development: the multifaceted relationship

In practice, heritage and development have been often seen as contradictory ideas. However, it is preservation and development that are, by definition, contradictory processes. *Preservation* entails prevention of change, while *development* is charged with the goal of altering present states (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004; Tiesdal, Oc, & Heath, 1996; Kocabas, 2006). In that sense, preservation has often been confused with conservation, causing the common misunderstanding that heritage is contradictory to development. *Conservation*, as Tiesdal, Oc, & Heath (1996, p. 1) suggest “is about the inevitability of change and the management of that change.” Fortunately for this argument,

heritage is a paradigm that has nothing in common with the condition, processes or goals of preservation (Ashworth, 2006). Seen as such, heritage is a process and not a category of resources. And as a process it can be used as development option.

According to Ashworth (2006) heritage and development could be strategically linked in one of two ways: heritage could be the main or subsidiary goal of the development strategy itself, or could be used as an instrument within development strategies that have other non-heritage objectives. However, the relationship between heritage and development is not so simple, and there are a number of intrinsic elements and conditions that could complicate this relationship (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004). Firstly, heritage, by its nature, could serve multiple purposes. The assertion discussed here, is that heritage can be used as an instrument of development. In that sense, heritage if used as a policy instrument could support a variety of contemporary objectives at various spatial scales. The reason why this matters is that the development claim upon heritage is likely to have to compete with other claims. Secondly, the use of heritage as a resource for development generally costs more and returns less than could be expected. The paradox is that heritage has many of the characteristics of a zero-priced good (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004). From the position of a consumer, heritage resource is consumed without generating an income. However, from the position of the heritage manager, who takes care of its selection, maintenance, promotion or interpretation, heritage incurs the costs. And finally, consumption of heritage can be selective, especially in the case of tourism when heritage is consumed rapidly (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2004).

An additional issue seems to be that of sustainability. In the context of planning of the historic areas, the concept of sustainability is focused around the identification of those resources which are critical, compensable or tradable and the contribution such resources make to the maintenance of the environmental aspects of a place (English Heritage, 1997; Strange, 1999). Such an interpretation implies that “a limit to the amount of development which an area can take over the time (is) determined by its environmental characteristics” (Jacobs, 1997). Furthermore, English Heritage (2002) suggests that sustainability issues could be addressed through sustainable development frameworks. Their initiative, ‘Quality of Life Capital’, promotes some key sustainability principles related to the historic environment sector (English Heritage, 2002, p. 40), such as that it should:

- Stand back from areas and features and considers the human benefits they provide;
- Provide a systematic and transparent evaluation framework;
- Integrate environmental, social and economic issues;
- Place the emphasis on improving quality of life;
- Put professional judgement alongside the concerns of local people.

Conservation and planning practice

Delafons (1997) and Roth (2004) assert that over the last few decades, conservation activity has been shifting from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument for urban regeneration and economic development. That shift is especially important when speaking of conservation areas and it implies the shift from single monument preservation to area-based conservation.

In the 1970s, conservation emerged as a legitimate planning objective. In the 1980s and 1990s, the economic functions of conservation became more important with the rise of neoliberal planning agenda intent on easing the restraint of development (Roth, 2004; Strange & Whitney, 2003; de Frantz, 2005). Conservation has been encouraged to develop its regenerative potential, particularly through the more economically productive use of historic buildings. Moreover, as local authorities have turned to 'culture' as an instrument of urban renewal, historic environment has become a key resource to be used in the regeneration process. So, various ways in which historic assets can be used and adapted for economic uses is clearly evident in contemporary conservation thinking and practice. However, Strange and Whitney (2003) pursue the argument that strategic thinking and policy integration has been absent, while practice was opportunistic and pragmatic. One of the reasons for this is that heritage conservation has been developed as a separate field from planning and that only in the recent time they started to be interlinked. Strange and Whitey (2003) assert that conservation is still not fully integrated into planning and that there are number of constraints for seeing conservation as a legitimate goal of planning strategies. One of them is related to inter-sectoral linkages but further elaboration on this has been omitted by the authors.

One of the concepts that link conservation and planning is that of urban conservation. As Orbaşlı (2000, p. 1) asserts, its aim is to enhance the historical area and “ensure its continuity as a desirable place to live.” Furthermore, urban conservation aims at retaining values embedded in the historic environment and maintaining economic viability and community cohesion (Larkham, 1996; Orbaşlı, 2000; Su, 2010). Sometimes it has been used interchangeably with urban regeneration or revitalisation, although those concepts are more often used in relation to the historic inner-city areas (Güzey, 2009; Su, 2010). Doratlı (2005) and Ashworth (2006) argue that revitalisation of historic environment could be *physical* and *economic*. Tiesdell, Oc and Heath (1996, p. 30) suggests that revitalisation is a “process through which the mismatch between the services offered and by the fabric of the historic quarters and the contemporary needs can be reconciled”. This mismatch might have its source in the physical fabric, or in economic activities, but in any case it will entail different measures towards historic quarters’ revitalisation.

Urban regeneration as an approach is often used as a reaction to urban decline, in terms of the decline of local economies, use of land and buildings, quality of the environment and social life (Healey, Davoudi, & O’Tool, 1992; Parkinson, 1989). In that context, urban regeneration is seen as an approach to reversing negative trends to economic growth and social wellbeing. In 1980’s, urban regeneration as an idea that encapsulate city’s decline and hope to reverse this trends, shaped the urban policy (Healey, Davoudi, & O’Tool, 1992).

Another concept – *conservation-planning* – has been used by some scholars to distinguish those approaches that are aiming at reconciling conservation and planning, or as Kocabas (2006) asserts, strike balance between the ‘continuity’ and ‘change’. Moreover, Kocabas (2006) argues that conservation planning has three objectives: physical, social and economic, while Pendlebury and Strange (2011, p. 361) draw the link between the past and the future of city by asserting that conservation-planning refers to “the notion that the historic fabric of a city might be a key element of its future development.”

Since 1990s, under the pressure to be more economically competitive, historic and inner-city areas became the arena for local authorities to engage in the flagship developments – sometimes also known as ‘heritage-led’, ‘culture-led’ or ‘revitalisation-led’ projects –, aiming to combine the need for economic revitalisation and social cohesion (de Frantz, 2005; Evans, 2005; Miles S. , 2005; Pendlebury, 2002; Healey, Davoudi, & O’Tool, 1992). Such projects soon became very fashionable and

developed into the tool for city marketing, as well as becoming a symbol of local pride and identity. One of them, 'Vienna Museum Quarter' (Museumsquartier Wien), as de Frantz (2005) suggests, aimed at discursive transformation of centrally located urban quarters in Vienna. What this and many other flagship projects have in common is that political decision has been achieved after series of consultations and political deliberations aiming to achieve consensus and gain support for the project (de Frantz, 2005; Healey, 2002; Paasi, 2001). In some cases, such flagship projects can provoke controversy and become places of discursive struggle over conflicting ideas, identities or meanings (Paasi, 2001; Paasi, 2013; Pred, 1984; de Frantz, 2005). Following this assertion, places could be seen as dynamic categories shaped by contingent processes of the reproduction of social and cultural forms, power and individual biographies, all of which could produce narratives, texts and discourses (Mihajlović, 2014; Paasi, 2013; Raco, 2003). Raco (2003, p. 39) further asserts that as places are socially constructed, rebuilding such places requires "the (re)construction of discourses and imaginations of place."

Challenging underlying assumptions: the normative and positivist bias

This literature review highlighted various themes that emerged and were of interest to academics and practitioners in relation to conservation and governance of the historic city centres. More importantly, it identified that huge attention has been assigned to the development of general, theoretical knowledge that includes policy and legislation guidelines, as well as different kinds of recommendations about their transfer to and institutionalisation in the national contexts. That was ensured through the international organisations such as the Council of Europe, whose conventions and resolutions, once ratified by the country, become legally binding, but also through the UNESCO and ICOMOS charters and recommendations, as they had a huge influence on the national legislations and practices. Moreover, different approaches to area-based conservation have been adopted internationally – such as urban conservation, urban regeneration or conservation-planning –, and they were focussed on economic, social and physical development, as well as approaches to the development of inner-city areas that are often called heritage-led, culture-led or revitalisation-led development that focussed on city marketing and improving competitiveness. The value of this international doctrine developed over a period of time was that it influenced formulation of the legislation, as well as formation of the institutions and practice internationally, therefore playing important role. As a consequence, this international

doctrine now represents a dominant theoretical grounding of the field of conservation and governance of the historic city centres.

The underlying assumptions of this dominant theoretical grounding arise from the normative and positivist accounts. To be exact, theory of conservation and governance of the historic city centres was mostly developed in order to support production of prescriptive approaches to guide practice and the development of legislation, as well as tools and mechanisms for its implementation, without paying much attention to the contextual factors. However, it is because of those contextual factors – such as the organisational culture, tacit knowledge, practices, traditions or behaviour –, that seeking for the best or optimal solutions often does not work as it presupposes the condition of certainty which is not applicable to most of the planning and policy problems (Blyth, 2002; Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Yanow, 2000).

Policy problems are often complex and contested, and normative theories, as well as positivism, as the prevalent paradigms, are unable to offer suitable solution, so such problems became to be known as *wicked problems* (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Hartmann, 2012; van Bueren, Klijn, & Koppenjan, 2003; Allmendinger, 2002). Hartman (2012) asserts that in spatial planning uncertainty, complexity and inherited normativity of thinking, that implies progress from the observed to desired state, conditioned persistence of wicked problems despite the efforts to solve them. As a result some planning theorist started to reject rationalism and positivism which brought the normative/descriptive divide to fore in planning theory (Allmendinger, 2002).

The normative/descriptive divide follows Hume's divide between 'ought' and 'is' (Hume, 1739). A theory is normative (or prescriptive) if it postulates what *ought* or *should* be done and if it provides clear guidance on the goals, norms and standards to be achieved. A descriptive (or empirical) theory is about what something *is* rather than what something should be. Hume (1739) further makes the distinction by asserting that all knowledge is either based on logic and definitions, or else on observation. For Bell, Raiffa and Tversky (1989, p. 16) descriptive analysis "is concerned with *how* and *why* people think and act the way they do, [which makes it] concerned with individual behaviour." On the other hand, normative theory presupposes "how idealized, rational, super-intelligent people should think and should act" (Bell, Raiffa, & Tversky, 1989, p. 16). Rawls (1971) asserts that 'ideal theory' represents the situation of full compliance to the rules, and implies ideal conditions in order to ensure that full compliance.

Despite the methodological soundness, scrutiny and amount of data taken into consideration, normative public policy research has the problem of irrelevance because it only means in context of its own theoretical framework while it does not bear a meaning to ordinary citizens as it does not deal with what matter to them (Gerring & Yesnowitz, 2006). Normative theorising does not presume a judgement of moral importance citizens might have; it prescribes what it believes it hold moral importance but does not check if that is true. Nonetheless, the empirical-normative dichotomy in its self is illegitimate as there are no empirical facts without normative judgements and facts gain meaning in their social context which is value-laden. Therefore, facts and values are intertwined. Building on that, social science is compelled to take context and its embedded values into consideration.

Assumptions underlying dominant theory of conservation and governance of the historic city centres are arising from the normative and positivist perspectives and they can be pinpointed to two major issues: firstly, *the neglect of contextual factors* that includes *presupposition of the 'ideal world'* and also presupposes that planners are rational experts who make value-free decisions (Davoudi, 2012; Fischer, 2000; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2010), and secondly, *the objectivist approach* – positivist epistemology – that entails rejection of the role of the 'observer' in the constitution of social reality. Dominant theory rests on the assumption that policy is transferable from one local or national context to another regardless the contextual factors that could affect policy interpretation and implementation.

This research challenges underlying assumptions by disrupting the established line of thinking and embracing *interpretive paradigm* to question dominant theory because interpretivism assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings and knowledge are socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012; Fischer, 2003). Interpretivism searches for “culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998, p. 67) and it is often taken as a major anti-positivist stance. A subjectivist approach implies central role of an individual who acquire their knowledge through interpretation that is subjective and reflects their education, experience and training, as well as the individual, familial and communal background (Fischer, 2007; Yanow, 2000). Actors do not create the world anew; their behaviour is socially constrained and their intentions are influenced by predispositions, conventions and rules which are time and context bound (Neuman, 2006; Vannini, 2008; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

Viewing conservation and governance of the historic city centres as a contextualised and subjective process means taking into account what is meaningful to policy actors. Meanings are context and situation specific and dependent on both expert and tacit knowledge held by relevant policy actors (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). Tacit knowledge refers to values and meanings that are tacitly and not explicitly known and are rooted in local practices and traditions. Therefore, this research asks the fundamental question, that is, *how contextual factors influence governance of the historic city centres*, and more in particular *how practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*? As a result, the next section of the literature review will examine the complexity of urban governance from a micro-social perspective by looking at actors, networks and institutions.

Part 2: The complexity of urban governance

The first part of the literature review – *heritage conservation and spatial planning* – considered the intellectual history of area-based conservation and governance, and highlighted important issues developed by international doctrine and practices. That provided an opportunity to identify underlying assumptions in this field and to decide on how to challenge them, namely by applying interpretive paradigm to question normative bias of dominant theory that has been identified.

The following two parts of the literature review – *the complexity of urban governance* and *urban governance and coordination* – will review history of the ideas important for understanding complex reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process. Since research problem transcend the boundaries of specific discipline, several theories presented as informing theories here would assist understanding of the research problem and its analysis. In this sense, aim of the literature review is to provide theoretical grounding upon which it would be possible to identify the contributions that can be made by the new research, justify the research approach that has been chosen and draw conclusions about the approach that is likely to be best suited to the investigation.

This part of the literature review considers several informing theories before it proceeds to review particular cases and empirical studies in the field heritage

conservation. The key informing theories presented in this literature review have been chosen because of their importance in providing theoretical grounding for studying governance of the historic environment. The first two theories examine governance and complexity from a micro-social perspective and provide an introduction to studying urban governance. The following two sections present urban governance from three different points of view, namely, as a deliberative practice, and as a situated and contextual practice. The final section presents comprehensive review of the particular cases and empirical studies in the field of heritage conservation at the micro-social level. As a result, this part of the literature review aims to provide theoretical grounding for answering following questions: *how contextual factors influence governance of the historic city centres*, and more in particular *how practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres?*

Governance and complexity

Governance was a popular catchphrase in a variety of academic fields for the last two decades (Jordan, 2008; Stoker, 1998; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). However, its diverse uses, definitions and explanations resulted in being characterised as confusing and often controversial (Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, & Tkaczynski, 2010; Windsor, 2009; Peters, 2011). That triggered a considerable debate as different academic communities tried to find a common ground (Young, 2005). Nonetheless, the concept of governance is still remains fuzzy.

Interest in *governance* could be pinpointed to changes in the role of state in 1980s and 1990s followed by the changing manner of governing and public sector reforms (Bevir, 2007a; Jessop, 1998; Stoker, 1998). These changes have brought a shift from a vertical, hierarchical bureaucracy to horizontal, networked form of decision-making that also brought a diffusion of boundaries between policy actors, especially between private and public sector in delivering public services (Kohler-Koch, 1996; Kjaer, 2004). This *shift from government to governance* span different scales of governance, from local to national, and through various forms of intergovernmental arrangements even international and global scale. That introduced *multi-level governance*, a term often used to describe vertical links between territorial scales and actors that produced new forms of partnerships, negotiations and networking (Jessop, 2004).

Here, governance is simply referred to as “self-organizing, interorganisational networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state” (Rhodes, 1997, p. 15). Governance implies a structure or an order that was created as a result of interaction among actors and multiplicity of governing (Stoker, 1998). Bevir (2011a) draws attention to three distinctive features of governance, namely that governance is hybrid, multijurisdictional, and that involves plurality of stakeholders. The first one refers to governance arrangements as they are often *hybrid* and they combine formal administrative systems and practices with markets and informal actors such as civic organisations. The second one recognises that governance is often *multijurisdictional* and in some cases even transnational. Emerging governance patterns involve actors and institutions from across different policy sectors, as well as different levels – local, regional, national and international. The final distinctive feature of governance refers to *plurality of stakeholders* involved in policymaking process. Apart from formal actors involved in policy process, there is a range of informal actors involved, such as interest groups or civil society, which all lead to entrusting third-party organizations’ responsibility to deliver state services.

Stoker (1998) asserts that governance consists of self-governing networks of actors. These *governance networks* are made up of “actors and institutions that gain[ed] a capacity to act by blending their resources, skills and purposes into a long-term coalition” (Stoker, 1998, p. 23). Chhotray and Stoker (2008) define governance networks as any setting that has a plurality of actors and no formal control system to dictate relationships between the actors. The concept of governance networks commonly refers to very particular type of networks that are “a relatively stable horizontal articulation of interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors who interact through negotiation which take place within a regulative, normative, cognitive and imaginary framework that is self-regulating within limits set by external agencies and which contributes to the production of public purpose” (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007, p. 9). In a context of contemporary society characterised by fragmentation and complexity, governance networks emerged as a solution for establishing connections between different parts of the society leading to formation of i.e. public-private partnerships, strategic alliances, consultative committees or inter-organizational networks (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009).

Governance is an art of steering complex array of actors, institutions and networks that are both operationally independent from one another and formally related through various forms of reciprocal interdependence (Jessop, 1997). As processes in society

are characterised by variety of interactions that makes them hard to manage, governance is often associated with the complexity theory and the idea of 'complex adaptive systems' (Klijn & Snellen, 2009; Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Teisman, Gerrits and van Buuren (2009) suggest that complexity theory's key features are non-linearity, co-evolution and self-organization. As social systems are complex system, they exhibit properties that are not generally linear (Chettiparamb, 2014; Gleick, 1987). Different systems and their subsystems affect and change each other in a process of co-evolution (Klijn & Snellen, 2009). Self-organisation as an emergent property of complex adaptive systems refers to the limits of a single actor's steering capacity imposed by other actors' ability to act and organise as they chose (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). A self-organised network that operates within formal governance rules is also known as a *meta-governance*. For Whitehead (2003), concept of meta-governance refers to the importance of government in governing, or as Damgaard and Torfing (2011, p. 292) put it, it is the "regulation of self-regulation." Meta-governance is the act of governing from above the network where actors (meta-governors) that are outside a governance network aim to guide and direct the behaviour and outcomes of that network (Sørensen & Torfing, 2005). In a broader understanding of a concept, meta-governance refers to overall societal governance, 'the governance of governance' through the development of shared values, norms and principles (Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009).

Governance as a concept presents as a 'multi-theoretical' analytical concept and it must be combined with specific theories to move beyond description and provide explanations (Blom-Hansen, 1997; Kjaer, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). In urban research, the term 'governance' has been widely accepted and used in many different contexts, with different interpretations and inferred meanings (Eckardt & Elanger, 2009; Stoker, 1998). Considering the amount and diversity of theoretical perspectives on urban governance, the proceeding part of the literature review will address only the themes relevant to this research, that is to say, it will focus on urban governance as a contextualised and micro-level practice that embraces the role of subjectivity in the constitution of social reality.

Urban governance as a deliberative practice

The 'shift' from central steering – *government* – to more participatory and deliberative processes – *governance* – received a huge attention in the literature both in political

science (Bevir, 2007a; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Fung & Wright, 2001; Stoker, 1998) and urban governance (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Eckardt & Elanger, 2009; Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Pierre, 2011). That shift brought to the fore a debate about *deliberative*, *communicative* or *collaborative* governance (Allmendinger, 2009; Healey, 1997; Innes & Booher, 2010).

Deliberation is a 'talk-centred' process that invokes "debate and discussion aimed at producing reasonable, well-informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new information, and claims made by fellow participants" (Chambers, 2003, p. 309). Deliberation happens in a political realm and it is a precondition of democratic decision-making. In deliberative democracy citizens and their elected representatives are expected to arrive at political decisions by giving reasons and imposing their political claims on one another (Dryzek, 2009; Eagan, 2007; Thompson D. , 2008). In other words, deliberative democracy presupposes participants, be they citizens, elected politicians, bureaucrats or activists, and legitimacy of the outcomes as they are secured by confrontation of competing arguments and viewpoints. Habermas (1996) asserts that informal public sphere influences deliberative capacity as this is where public opinions are being generated. In terms of public policy, deliberative capacity could lie within the non-traditional institutional forms such as governance networks as they cross institutional boundaries, include a variety of policy actors, and they could be both formal and informal in the same time (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). That participation of various policy actors in policy-making process opens up the door to the *deliberative governance*.

The central idea behind deliberative governance is the importance of language and interpretation in policy-making process as policy-making requires different institutions, actors, networks and individual citizens to work together (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Gottweis, 2007; Hendriks, 2009). In a world of increasing social complexity, deliberative governance means increased interdependence between policy actors who seek for solutions through deliberation. Deliberation here denotes "a communicative process in which actors are informed about a policy issue, consider its complexities, and reason together in view of the better argument" (Hendriks, 2009, p. 174). The concept of deliberative governance draws on intellectual traditions of critical theory and Habermas' communicative rationality and it is also known as communicative governance (Innes & Booher, 2010; Kooiman, 2003). This communicative turn in governance emerged as a critique of positivist approaches that favoured instrumental, functional or strategic forms of rationality, as well as neo-

Marxist structural theory (Huxley, 2000; Habermas, 1984). Instead, an emphasis has been put on inter-subjective understanding as a precondition of communication.

The 'communicative turn' in planning theory largely emerged in the 1980s and has featured as a prominent part of the vocabulary in planning literature ever since (Harris, 2002; Healey, 1992b; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000). A rapidly growing body of knowledge that emerged drew on theory of Habermas' communicative rationality but quickly expanded beyond it to encompass other intellectual traditions, such as pragmatism and neo-pragmatism, critical theory, Giddens' structuration theory, Foucauldian perspectives and new institutionalism (Dobrucká, 2014; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2002; Healey, 2003). As a consequence, the communicative turn undergone a number of alterations producing various theories as *communicative planning* (Healey, 1993; Innes, 1995), *deliberative planning* (Forester, 1999b), *argumentative planning* (Fischer & Forester, 1993), *collaborative planning* (Healey, 1997), *planning through debate* (Healey, 1992b) and *participatory planning* (Fischer, 1993). The differences in interpretation of the communicative turn highlight the fact that there is not one turn but multitude. However, what all them have in common is their focus on the inter-personal relationships between variety of policy actors involved in urban governance (Forester, 1999a; Healey, 1992a). Starting from the 1990s, the communicative turn has become known as 'collaborative planning' in the UK literature and 'deliberative planning' in the US literature (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2002).

In the UK context, the term *collaborative planning* emerged in the late 1990s to refer to specific body of work in planning theory that has been associated to Patsy Healey and other subsequent scholars. In her seminal work *Collaborative planning: shaping places in fragmented societies* (Healey, 1997, p. xii), she states that collaborative planning "is about why urban regions are important to social, economic and environmental policy and how political communities may organise to improve the quality of their places." This definition clearly highlights that collaborative planning is not particularly concerned with developing planning theory, but aims to improve practical side of planning (Harris, 2002). As a consequence, collaborative planning has been seen as a method for increasing institutional capacity and empowering communities to engage in local and regional development (Healey, 2003). Also, collaborative planning that coincided with the New Labour government's 'third way' echoed its political concerns over social justice and environmental sustainability (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Wilson, 2009; Giddens, 2000).

Healey (1997) asserts that there are two primary influences on her work on the collaborative planning, namely *the structuration theory* of Anthony Giddens (1984) and *the theory of communicative action* of Jürgen Habermas (1984). The structuration theory is based on the notion that there is an interdependence between agency and structure as they mutually constitute each other. Giddens (1979, p. 5) describes duality of structure as “the essential recursiveness of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of reproduction of practices.” This relational perspective, as Healey calls it, provided a rich framework for situating ‘a collaborative planner’ in urban governance practice within the structuration processes. Similarly, Habermas’ theory of communicative action provided a theoretical grounding with which Healey evaluated planning practice. The theory of communicative action is based on the idea that in interaction actors can reach inter-subjective understanding (Habermas, 1984; Healey, 1997).

Although many scholars refer to Habermas’ theory of communicative action as a primary influence on Healey’s work, for her, collaborative planning is principally grounded in the work of Anthony Giddens (Harris, 2002; Healey, 2003). Healey (1992a; 1997; 2003) asserts that communicative planning is inspired by the notion of planning as an iterative process happening in the complex institutional setting. That setting is shaped by social, economic and political forces, but they do not determine it. Healey believes that planners should be committed to delivering social justice in the context of culturally and socially diverse local communities, not only in terms of material outcomes, but in terms how the overall resources and regulations are being distributed. Healey draws on the work of David Harvey (2009) who asserts that social justice is both outcome and the process.

In about the same time, in the US John Forester, and other subsequent scholars, was developing theory of *deliberative planning*. In his seminal book *The deliberative practitioner: encouraging participatory planning processes* (1999b), Forester develops his theory around a series of concepts. The central concept – *the deliberative practitioner* – is an intentional reference to Donald Schön’s book *The reflective practitioner* (1983). Forester (1999b, p. 2) asserts that “as planners work in between interdependent and conflicting parties in the face of inequalities of power and political voice, they have to be not only personally reflective but politically deliberative too”. For Forester the role of planner is to promote deliberative democracy and to actively engage in listening, learning, meaning-making and shaping of the participatory planning processes. Planners should engage in a micro-politics of planning process and try to expand public sphere as much as possible. So if Schön’s ‘reflective

practitioner' is learning from experience, then Forester's 'deliberative practitioner' works and learns with others (Forester, 2013).

The deliberative practitioner inhabits complex, adversarial and fragmented world in which steering capacity of central government has been weakened, power of policy-making transferred to various policy actors and organisations, and in which expert knowledge fails to provide solutions for social problems (Forester, 1999b; Wagenaar, 2002). The deliberative practitioner resorts to deliberative democracy as a model of planning practice where deliberation denotes the "lived experience of planners and policy analysts" (Forester, 1999b, p. 8). This is achieved in two ways; first, by grounding planning practice in *individual and collective learning*, and second, by having *planners as active promoters of deliberative democracy* (Forester, 1999b; Fischer, 1999; Wagenaar, 2002). Forester (1999b, p. ix; italics in original) states that deliberative and participatory practices mean "inquiring and learning together in the face of difference and conflict, telling compelling stories and arguing together in negotiations, coming to see issues, relationships and options in new ways, thus arguing *and* acting together." For Forester deliberation more than just debate and dialogue; it is a joint problem solving and process of self-transformation.

In both collaborative and deliberative planning, the role of planner is to continually foster participatory processes in order to expand democratic rights, support citizens' voices and redirect resources where needed (Fischer, 1999; Harris, 2002; Healey, 1997; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2002). Vigar (2006) asserts that participation could take place for various reasons such as to ensure deliberative democracy, to uncover, debate and share 'situated knowledge' (Haraway, 1988) and local experience, to develop awareness of policy complexity and learning related to finding appropriate solutions, or to generate joint ownership of policies adopted and therefore potentially facilitate easier implementation.

Urban governance as a situated and contextual practice

The final section of part 1 of the literature review – heritage conservation and spatial planning – presented the point of departure this research is making by discussing the normative and positivist bias of the previous research and practice in governance of the historic environment. As a result, this research challenged underlying assumptions by disrupting the established line of thinking and embracing *interpretive paradigm* to

question dominant theory. Interpretivism assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings and knowledge are socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012; Fischer, 2003). The assumption underpinning the subjectivist epistemology is that all human action is meaningful and has to be interpreted and understood within the *context* they are *situated* (Hammersley, 2008; Vannini, 2008). Such understanding entails sensitivity to micro-social aspects of, in this case, planning practice. Following up on that, this section of the literature review asks the fundamental question, that is, *how contextual factors influence urban governance?*

Most broadly, *context* could be defined as “any frame of reference or framework within which something is perceived, produced, consumed, communicated, interpreted, or otherwise experienced, or which is seen as relevant to the description or analysis of any phenomenon” (Oxford Reference, 2011a). Hochschild (2006) asserts that elements of context could include but not necessarily be limited to philosophies, psychology, ideas, culture, histories and place identities. In terms of social environment, context could be either macro or micro, where macro context refers to social, cultural, historical, political and/or economic circumstances, and micro context refers to relationships of the individuals within social setting at the local level (Neuliep, 2011; Oxford Reference, 2011a). Similarly, *situatedness* denotes dependence of meaning and identity on the specifics of contexts within which social actors construct, negotiate and contest their multiple perspectives (Oxford Reference, 2011c).

The study of a micro-social level is implicit in theorizing that falls under the field of *microsociology* (Scheff, 1990; Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2012). The subject of microsociology is the nature of everyday social interactions and agency, and the role of individual and their interactions in the creation of societal relations (Smelser, 1995; Rohall, Milkie, & Lucas, 2011). Microsociology is associated with interpretive analysis as it examines how individuals interpret situations and interact with other individuals in their setting. In contrast, macrosociology is concerned by the large-scale structures and features of society, such as social class, division of labour, power, forms of authority and broad historical developments; it examines how different parts of society interact in order to maintain societal order (Little & McGivern, 2013).

There is only a limited body of academic research that focus on urban governance as a situated and contextualised practice. For instance, both Patsy Healey and John Forester pursue the ‘thick description’ of micro-politics of the planning practice and

deploy ethnographic and other context-sensitive research methodologies (Forester, 2012; Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003; Metzger, 2015). They both understand planning practice as contextually situated and in their research they pose questions as: how planning becomes affected by contextual factors, what difference context makes to planning practice, and to what extent situated agency have potential to affect the fate of urban setting?

Within planning theory, the best theoretical grounding for locating situated and contextualised practices of urban governance was provided by the sociological institutionalism (Gonzalez & Healey, 2005; Gualini, 2001; Healey, 2007). Sociological institutionalism is part of a wave of ideas in the political sciences in the late 20th century that emerged from the broad field of institutional theory. Scholars of the sociological institutionalism focus on the organisational procedures that are result of culturally specific practices that stem from locally situated norms, meanings and cultural frames that guide human actions (Schmidt V. , 2011; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 2008). Organisations are defined as “social structures created by individuals to support the collaborative pursuit of specified goals” (Scott, 1992, p. 10). However, organisations are not the same like other social collectives, such as social groups or families, because they attempt at creating a consequential and predictable order with the intention of achieving goals that cannot be achieved through individual action alone (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003; Scott, 2008). Organisations are “composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life” (Scott, 2008, p. 48). In conceptualising urban governance as an organisational activity it is important to provide suitable theoretical grounding. Organisational theory can offer that grounding and be used to “develop a broader understanding of processes of institutionalisation within local governance, spatial variations in policy delivery and local policy-making processes” (Raco, 2002, p. 452). Greenwood et al (2011) emphasise that starting points for studying complexity of urban governance are twofold; first, analysing the way socio-cultural factors affect organisations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), and second, in view of the ideas of institutional logics and institutional complexity whose tangible manifestations are practices and structures (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

Viewing urban governance as a socio-cultural phenomenon allows us to draw from the literature on social capital (Thornton, Ribeiro-Soriano, & Urbano, 2011). The concept of social capital – as developed by Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam and James Coleman –, refers to social organisation as something realised through

interactions embedded within social networks and among individuals, and rooted in cultural and political context (Petersen, 2007). In this respect, social capital is created and accumulated through social interactions, and it is a constituent of social networks and local practices. Conceptualising social capital so broadly implies that urban governance is socially embedded (Granovetter, 1985; Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011). Social embeddedness is about the contingency of knowledge, practices and behaviour on its social, institutional, cognitive or cultural environment (Schmidt A. , 2007). That contingency is a result of a person or organisation being part of a complex web of social relations or social networks (Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011). Socially embedded knowledge is also known as local knowledge. Local knowledge is context dependent knowledge that people develop among themselves from lived experiences (Fischer, 2000; Yanow, 2007c). The importance of local knowledge resides in its familiarity with and understanding of local situation.

Understanding complexity of urban governance through the concept of *institutional logic* means looking at how cultural rules and cognitive structures shape organizational structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977), as well as what effect behaviour of individual and organizational actors have on institutional logic in return (Thornton, 2004). Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p. 804) define institutional logic as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.” Perhaps the key assumption of the institutional logics approach is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013).

The micro-social level of heritage governance

First part of the literature review – *heritage conservation and spatial planning* – identified that huge attention in conservation of historic environment has been assigned to the development of general, theoretical knowledge that includes policy and legislation guidelines, and different kinds of recommendations about their transfer to and institutionalisation in the national contexts. That resulted in deficit of studies that deal with micro-social analysis of conservation practice, studies that would take micro contextual factors into account and try to better understand relationships of the

policy actors at the local level. As discussed in the previous section of this literature review, the study of a micro-social level is focused on the nature of everyday social interactions and agency, and the role of individual and their interactions in the creation of societal relations (Smelser, 1995; Rohall, Milkie, & Lucas, 2011). This kind of research is associated with interpretive analysis as it examines how individuals interpret situations and interact with other individuals in their setting.

Particularly extensive search for empirical studies that deal with micro-social analysis of conservation practice included Serbian setting as well. A wide-ranging search included indexed searches in the KoBSON data-base of the National Library of Serbia, Serbian DOI repository and search in the library of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia. Even such an extensive search didn't result in finding any study that would comply with the criteria of this literature review. However, this search has confirmed that dominant theoretical grounding of the studies on heritage conservation in Serbia arise from the normative and positivist accounts. Namely, the vast majority of studies aimed to present conservation works done on the particular cultural property, while the rest was mostly preoccupied with the production of prescriptive approaches to guide practice of conservation based on the international charters, recommendations and conventions.

This literature review singled out seven studies that addressed various issues related to *the micro-social relationships within partnerships and governance networks* in the UK, Spain and Mexico (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003; Blanco, Bonet, & Walliser, 2011; Guarneros-Meza, 2008), *collaborative planning and social mobilisation of policy actors* in the USA and Spain (Diaz Orueta, 2007; van Driesche & Lane, 2002), *implications of neo-liberalism on built heritage management* in Ireland and Sweden (Negussie, 2006) and *the influence of power struggles on conservation interventions* (Hammami, 2012).

The first one deals with the micro-social relationships within the partnership initiative for the Grainger Town regeneration, the historic city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003). This research deploys an interpretive approach to analysing the policy agenda set by the Grainger Town Project in order to understand modes of thinking and acting that underpin collaborations and connections established between different sectors, citizens, businesses and other stakeholders. The research also evaluates institutional capacity, as well as the degree of policy integration. It concludes that although the local policy arena is full of networks policy actors "did not have within them the kind of social capital which would

make them work to sustain a city-centre regeneration initiative” (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003, p. 77).

Blanco, Bonet and Walliser (2011) offer comparative analysis of the urban governance and regeneration of the historic city centres of Madrid and Barcelona by looking at the dynamics of the governance networks with the focus on public stakeholders, private organisations and social and community organisations. They also analyse the priorities and strategies for regeneration. Despite identifying a number of trends in the transformation of the local governance and urban regeneration politics, this research reveals that local administrative culture influenced the differences in the composition and the dynamics of the governance networks, and the way how they prioritise and devise regeneration strategies. Authors of the study distinguish number of possible explanatory factors for such differences, namely their cultural and geographical context, their economic and productive structure, the political leaning of the two cities’ local governments, the dynamics of their collaborative endeavours and their institutional structure of governance.

In a comparative study of two historic city centres’ partnerships in Mexico – Querétaro and San Luis Potosí – Guarneros-Meza (2008) discusses governance networks by looking at the three features that author finds indicative, namely fragmentation, networks and self-government. By comparing these two cities, the author contends the role of government for its strong interventionist character and asks if classical concept of governance poses a threat to democratic accountability. In order to do so, the author examines how democratic principles, such as public participation and accountability, were institutionalised in the initial phases of these two partnerships. Guarneros-Meza (2008) concludes that, firstly, fragmentation at the municipal level is a result of decentralisation, and secondly, public-private partnerships act as triggers for formation of governance networks that brought together both governmental and non-governmental actors. Fragmentation and the lack of coordination between the historic city centres’ partnerships, advisory bodies within urban planning sector and neighbourhood boards revealed general lack of trust between actors in a policy process. Still, the role of government has been reaffirmed as policy actors had attained high levels of trust in government agencies to implement projects due to strong interventionist and protectionist legacy in governance in Mexico. At the same time, governance networks retained structural arrangements based on informal social hierarchy held locally between political and economic elites. Finally, due to very strong role of government in policy process, attempts at self-governance proved unsuccessful. The reasons for that range from the lack of financing to the fact that

such partnerships lacked legitimate decision making structures and were still only accountable to government.

Another study from Spain, by Diaz Orueta (2007), examines mobilisation of social groups aimed to prevent urban segregation in Madrid. Namely, the local and regional administration has decided to engage in redevelopment of an inner city neighbourhood where a diverse set of social groups has been located, i.e. immigrants' associations, squatters, voluntary organisations, cultural associations, in an attempt to transform Madrid into more attractive for middle class consumption and tourists. As a result, implementation of the plan has triggered mobilisation of the whole neighbourhood represented by the newly formed association named La Corrala. Although involuntarily, redevelopment project energised neighbourhood mobilisation, and La Corrala association managed to generate greater social cohesion within previously very fragmented social milieu. That brought desired changes to the project, and promoted the area beyond Madrid.

In a review of collaborative planning processes related to the reuse of a former military property in Wisconsin, USA, van Driesche and Lane (2002) argue that its effectiveness is a direct result of integration of conservation with processes of community development and civic engagement. In particular, they identify three crucial factors for explaining the effectiveness of collaborative planning processes. First, the inclusion of local culture and knowledge brought shared sense of purpose; second, focus on understanding heritage values mobilised all those who have an interest in project; and third, openness to democratic and deliberative processes enabled consensus to be reached, and subsequently, commitment to implementation of the project. In sum, van Driesche and Lane (2002) assert that the reuse process owes its success to collaboration and broad support between heritage conservation community and civic groups which resulted in project arrangement that produced lasting conservation gains.

Negussie (2006) analyses what implications do neo-liberal conventions and practices have on built heritage management in terms of institutional and ownership structures. In particular, Negussie (2006) focuses at the changing role of public institutions, the voluntary sector in built heritage conservation and the processes of its privatisation in Ireland and Sweden. This study shows that deliberate adjustments and shifts towards neo-liberalism bring change in decision-making processes, governance, accountability and representation. So, while in Sweden built heritage management developed more clearly into a welfare state responsibility, in Ireland public authorities only recently

assumed responsibility for conservation of the built heritage. Moreover, in Sweden, the changing role of public authorities brought transfer of public responsibilities to private developers and therefore privatisation of built heritage conservation processes. Concluding this comparative study Negussie (2006) notes that shifts towards economy driven by neo-liberalism raise new questions in relation to built heritage management but that further discussion and debate are needed as neo-liberal practices are locally and contextually specific.

Hammami (2012) in his study of the historic city of Nablus investigates the influence of power struggles on conservation interventions. Nablus is situated in the West Bank in Palestine and is engulfed by diverse socio-political and identity struggles due to the fact that both Israel and Palestine claim it as their heritage. This study discusses how Israeli occupation influenced heritage interpretations and how such interpretations in the periods of peace have been influenced by historically constructed heritage discourses and narratives. In his comprehensive analysis Hammami (2012) was able to trace narratives of particular interventions and historically developed discourses in order to explore how they become socially appropriated. This research has shown that conservation in occupied societies is not only influenced by direct violence, but that is also entangled with discursive control over identity and superiority. Hammami (2012) concludes that understanding rationales underpinning conservation interventions in historic city areas requires exploration of not only the present competing powers and aspirations, but also the historically developed discursive practices.

The seven studies reviewed here addressed various issues related to governance networks, collaborative planning, partnerships and social mobilisation, and implications of neo-liberal conventions and practices on built heritage management. Much of that work reflects hermeneutic assumptions and focuses on interpretive analysis of policy narratives such as interviews with relevant policy actors, policy documents and other relevant texts. Still, these studies present very fragmented analysis of micro-social and micro-political dimensions of planning and conservation practices and further research is needed in order to produce more coherent body of knowledge.

Part 3: Urban governance and policy coordination

The preceding part of the literature review – *the complexity of urban governance* – and this – *urban governance and coordination* – review history of the ideas important for understanding complex reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process. Therefore, here the discussion moves forward to understanding policy coordination as a process of management of cross-cutting issues that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields and do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments. This part of literature review firstly considers definitions and meanings of coordination and then proceeds by examining contexts, structures and interdependencies of policy coordination, and factors affecting coordination. Considering that governance of the historic environment cuts across sectors, it closes with a review of the empirical research on policy coordination in urban planning and governance of the historic environment, and identifies some of the shortcomings and constraints of effective policy coordination in practice.

Policy coordination: an analytical overview

Although policy coordination as a concept is not new in the field of urban planning, there is no consensus on which terminology to use (Stead & Meijers, 2009; Alexander, 1998). Policy coordination can mean a variety of different things; often it is used synonymously and interchangeably with other concepts such as cooperation, collaboration, joined-up government, coupling, policy integration, horizontal and vertical management, intergovernmental management, and co-governance (Challis, et al., 1988; Mulford & Rogers, 1982; Alexander, 1995; Stead & Meijers, 2009; Perri 6, 2002). They all refer to the process of interaction among more or less diverse stakeholders in the interest of a common goal. However, the idea of coordination of actors or resources generally conveys a more abstract notion and has considerable theoretical significance in political science (Perri 6, 2005). For instance, Perri 6 (2005, p. 48) suggests that coordination denotes “the development of ideas about joint and holistic working, joint information systems, dialogue between agencies, processes of planning, and making decisions.”

Coordination is often discussed in relation to other concepts and processes, but most frequently with regard to cooperation and collaboration (Mulford & Rogers, 1982; Perri

6, 2005). Schermerhorn (1975, p. 847) defines *cooperation* as "deliberate relations [occurring] between otherwise autonomous organizations for the joint accomplishment of individual goals." Organisations that cooperate are committed to accomplishing their individual goals; coordination involves commitment to joint goals and activities. Similarly, organisations involved in *collaboration* interact to achieve joint goal but they remain autonomous. Thompson and Perry (2006, p. 23) assert that collaboration involves organisations "jointly creating rules and structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together." What both collaboration and coordination miss and have are interdependences between the organisations.

Having organisational interdependences in mind, Mulford and Rogers (1982, p. 12) introduce the concept of *interorganisational coordination* which they define as "the process whereby two or more organisations create and/or use existing decision rules that have been established to deal collectively with their shared task environment." Alexander (1995) claims that this is very comprehensive definition as it implies several issues of importance for coordination. Firstly, existence of the rules to guide coordination process, secondly, that coordination is being implemented collectively, and finally, it makes organisations recognise their interdependences as shared task environment entails mutual adjustments and deliberate actions aimed at attaining a specific goal. Considering that in the case of this research attaining a specific goal means delivering specific policy – governance of the historic city centres –, here the term *policy coordination* will be used.

In this research the term *policy coordination* will be used in order to denote *management of cross-cutting issues that often do not correspond to responsibilities of individual departments and transcend the established boundaries between the policy fields, sectors and organisations. It is a process of adjustment whereby two or more organisations/departments create and/or use existing decision rules that have been mandated to them in order to deliver better services.* Inherent within this definition are three assumptions. First, policy coordination entails boundary-spanning. Second, organisations coordinate in order to survive. And third, policy coordination involves some degree of internal adjustments. Each is a precondition to policy coordination.

A survey of the literature shows that *boundary-spanning* is driven by several sets of factors. First, boundary-spanning is associated with the rescaling of governments and the shift from hierarchy to networks (Kohler-Koch, 1996; Kjaer, 2004; Gualini, 2006;

Rhodes, 1997). Since this shift implies change from vertical coordination (hierarchy) to horizontal coordination (network governance), crossing organisational and departmental boundaries in order to deliver services become a prerogative. Second, boundary spanning is often the result of a need for knowledge transfer, learning or information sharing between the organisations and individuals (Gertler, 2003; Fischer, 2000; Yanow, 2003; Swan, Scarbough, & Robertson, 2002). In order to increase one's effectiveness and networking opportunities, policy actors often resort to learning from the developments in other policy fields, or from other organisations and departments. What is more, such knowledge transfer could be established as an institutionalised practice. Third, the need to expand to new markets or to deliver new type of services encourages coordination across established policy fields, sectors and organisations (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Thompson, Frances, Levacic, & Mitchell, 1991). Finally, boundary-spanning encourages management of power dependences (Galaskiewicz, 1985; Emerson R. , 1962; Bevir, 2007b). As Emerson (1962) asserted one's power reside in another's dependency. That dependence is based on power, power use and power-balancing, and their negotiation. Any mutual dependence forms the exchange relations between actors in the process, be them individuals, organisations or networks.

Coordination as a process of survival means that one of the factors motivating organisations to coordinate is the struggle for their domination, autonomy, power domains and resources (Halpert, 1982; Castells, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Whetten & Leung, 1979). Thompson (1967) points out that even simple recognition of each other's domain leads to *interdependencies* due to the internal adaptation to the new circumstances. Another situation when organisations resort to coordination as a survival technique is when they anticipate or try to prevent crisis. In that case organisations will look for areas of expansion in order to ensure their position in the organisational setting they are embedded (Cook, 1977).

Internal adjustments in the process of policy coordination are necessary if organisations are to adapt to changing circumstances and new task environment (Alexander, 1995; Halpert, 1982; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). In such situations, employees directly affected are going to feel threaten by those changes because, over time, these employees have created their task domains, power, social networks and professional identity within their organisations. Every change demands certain level of reorganisation and adaptation to new circumstances which in return engender a certain degree of resistance. Consequently, any attempt at coordinative endeavour should take into account the compatibility of institutional logics of

organisations involved in coordination (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). For Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood institutional logic encompasses both the interpretive and contextual factors within the organisation and in its organisational setting. Interpretive factors include values, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of the policy actors (micro-contextual factors), while contextual factors refer to structural aspects such as hierarchy, organisational complexity, standardisation (meso-contextual factors), as well as political, economic, legal, cultural factors (macro-contextual factors) (Halpert, 1982; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980).

Contexts, structures and interdependencies

There are three different *contexts* in which policy coordination in public governance takes place: political, administrative and task-related (Alexander, 1995; Sørensen, 2014; Whetten, 1982). *Political coordination* entails deliberation aimed at finding a common ground by political actors involved, and it involves negotiation and adoption of legislation. If the political communication is limited only to traditional role perception and formal patterns of interaction then patterns of interaction can be slow to change (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). However, institutionalisation of new forms of communication channels could assist the establishment of better political coordination. *Administrative coordination* concerns preparing, implementing and evaluating procedures and formal rules. Recent shift that has changed the perception of public administrators as servants to managers resulted in also greater need for efficiency and effectiveness in administrative coordination (Kettl, 2002; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). *Task-related coordination* focuses on the joint delivery of services and it implies coordinated actions between different public (and private) organisations. The efforts to achieve outcomes resulted in transformation of public services (Sørensen, 2014; Torfing, Peters, & Pierre, 2012). Traditionally, public servants assumed the role of technocrats, autonomous experts; now they are seen as 'responsive communicators' capable of effective communication and justifying their actions in the eyes of both their superiors and customers (Sørensen, 2014).

Coordination structures are commonly referred to as 'mechanisms of coordination', coordination systems or schemes', and 'coordination formats' (Brickman, 1979; Grandori, 1987). Coordination structures here denote "the form of the coordinating mechanism linking the decision centres in an organization or of the member organizations in an organizational system" (Alexander, 1998, p. 335). Such

coordination structures exist at various levels. Alexander (1998) classifies them as meta-coordination structures, meso-coordination structures and micro-coordination structures. *Meta-coordination structures* represent the highest level of social and organisational abstraction, embracing coordination as a whole at, what Alexander calls, the 'meta' –level. They imply macro context of coordination, such as legal, political, economic, industrial, national/cultural and spatial (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). Meta-coordination structures manage lower coordination structures either by formal means (markets, legislation and planning) or informally, in a sense of mutual obligation and solidarity, of through shared beliefs and values.

Most of the *meso-coordination structures* consist of interorganisational networks. The interorganisational networks here denote a distinct set of organisations functioning as a stable network linked through common affiliations, markets or hierarchies (Mingus, 2007; Alexander, 1995). Those could range from informal networks to more formal arrangements that include policy networks (Bevir, 2007b; Rhodes, 1997), advocacy coalitions (Weible & Sabatier, 2007), or joint ventures and associations (Alexander, 1995). The concept of *policy network* has been strongly influenced by the theory of interorganisational relations which emphasises interdependent nature of policy process (Silke & Kriesi, 2007; Rhodes, 1997; Koppenjan, Kars, & van der Voort, 2009; Alexander, 1995). At the same time, the concept of policy networks in political theory grew out of research focussing on interest groups and agenda setting (Klijn, 1997; Thatcher, 1998; Silke & Kriesi, 2007). Policy networks consist of policy actors associated across different sectors and organisations with an aim to secure the desired outcomes in the policy field (Alexander, 1998; Bevir, 2007b). It is the policy network's participants that decide which policy issues should be included and excluded from the agenda. The *advocacy coalitions* represent a form of organising with an aim to achieve political goals (Balsiger, 2007). They are a set of actors that share similar beliefs and coordinate their actions towards the common goal (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Advocacy coalitions consist mainly of nongovernmental actors, but may include other actors and sectors such as businesses, academia, foundations and media (Balsiger, 2007; Sabatier, 1998). Their success depends on their ability to translate their aspirations into policy by becoming a driver of social and political change. They achieve that by focussing on the dissemination of information, interpretation and mobilisation of actors. The *joint ventures*, in broad terms, involve partnerships among two or more organisations found on the basis of shared expertise or resources with an aim to achieve a particular goal (Gingrich, 2007; Alexander, 1995). Public sector often engages in joint ventures with the private sector in order to deliver better public services. Those are called public-private partnerships.

Micro-coordination structures imply linkages at the micro-level. Those could include both formal and informal processes of liaisons or coordination that spans organisational boundaries, such as interpersonal contacts at meetings, boards and steering committees (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008; Alexander, 1998). Some of the research of the micro-coordination structures includes studies of trust, leadership, sense-making, understanding and committing.

Factors affecting policy coordination

Whereas the previous two sections reviewed literature focussing on definitions, contexts and structures, as well as organisational interdependencies in the process of policy coordination, this section will proceed further by presenting a set of conditions that facilitate or constrain policy coordination.

For the purpose of this research policy coordination has been defined as follows: *management of cross-cutting issues that often do not correspond to responsibilities of individual departments and transcendent the established boundaries between the policy fields, sectors and organisations. It is a process of adjustment whereby two or more organisations/departments create and/or use existing decision rules that have been mandated to them in order to deliver better services.*

A review of the literature reveals that understanding of the factors that constrain or facilitate policy coordination is rife with competing theoretical perspectives that depend on authors' epistemological stands and levels of the analysis. Organisational theory is indispensable for any attempt to grasp the factors affecting policy coordination as those assist our understanding of the interplay between agency and structure. Considering that this research is taking subjectivist epistemological stand that assumes that understandings and knowledge are socially constructed, it is argued here that *theory of organisational structuring* offers the most suitable grounding to discuss factors affecting policy coordination.

Theory of organisational structuring explains how organizational structures take shape and change over time, and clarifies the way in which the process of structuring itself defines and mediates organizational structures (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Schutz, 1972). Drawing on the 'micro' studies of Pierre Bourdieu, Erving

Goffman and Anthony Giddens, this theory provides an interpretive account of the meanings actors produce to make sense of their worlds within the organisational setting. Schutz (1972) asserts the existence of interpretive schemes and contextual constraints that condition organisational structuring. *Interpretive schemes* guide our experiences of the world around us and how we get to know and understand it. They are articulated as values, attitudes and perceptions that form the basis of actors' role within the organization (Bonniwell Haslett, 2012; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Challis, et al., 1988). Then again interpretive schemes and organisational structures are mutually constitutive and they do not exist in vacuum. Since interpretive schemes influence and get incorporated into the very structure of organisations, in turn, they become constitutive element of *contextual constraints* inherent in characteristics of the organization and its environment (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Much of the literature in organisation theory recognises the importance of the contextual determinants of structural variability in organisations. This argument comes from the contingency theory which suggests that structural characteristics of organisation – rules and hierarchy for example –, arise as a consequence of contingent circumstances such as environment, resources and technology (Child, 1973; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Building upon the theory of organisational structuring, Halpert (1982) distinguishes between interpretive and contextual factors to account for factors that facilitate or constrain policy coordination. *Interpretive factors* are perceptive and subjective, and include micro-social elements such as values, attitudes, perceptions of the policy actors. *Contextual factors* refer to structural aspects such as hierarchy, organisational complexity, standardisation (meso-contextual factors), as well as political, economic, legal, cultural factors (macro-contextual factors) (Halpert, 1982; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). It is this division between interpretative and contextual factors that will be used here to present various factors affecting the process of policy coordination.

Various studies have examined the implications of *interpretive factors* for policy coordination. Those include studies of the history of relationships between the organisations (Halpert, 1982; Mandell & Steelman, 2003; OECD, 1996), interaction potential for a joint endeavour (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988), the relative power of participating organisations (Mandell & Steelman, 2003; Halpert, 1982) and the role of ideas in policy coordination (Béland & Cox, 2011; Mehta, 2011; Peters, 2013).

Good relationships between the organisations are sown over time, as previous interactions will assist forming opinions about each other (Halpert, 1982; Mandell & Steelman, 2003). New interactions will be constrained by what has or has not happen before, as *history of the relationships* will determine the behaviour of individuals and their organisations in terms of mutual understanding and trust, good or bad interpersonal relations (Alexander, 1995). Several factors may combine to produce good *interaction potential*. One of the most important is the positive evaluation of other organisation and staff involved. Mandell and Steelman (2003) emphasise that if policy actors come from different personal and professional backgrounds, and if they convey different value systems, norms and beliefs, it is likely that there would be resistance to coordinative endeavours. On the contrary, similarity in expertise and personal ideologies would be supportive of coordination and establishment of a common ground. Positive attitude and an organisational culture supportive of working with other organisations in a joint endeavour is another important issue (OECD, 1996; Stead & Meijers, 2009). The decision to engage in a coordinative endeavour is made much easier if there are regular interactions and informal contact between organisations whereas proximity allows for more frequent informal interactions (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Halpert, 1982). Also, shared understanding of policy issues and their solutions, ability to see common interests, and culture of trust can all contribute to the policy coordination process (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988; Halpert, 1982). Perceived interdependencies in terms of power, resources and domain sharing – or symbiosis in some cases – could be a powerful driver of interorganisational coordination (Alexander, 1995). In contrast, domain defensiveness is characterised by a tendency towards protection of the organisational authority, resources and professional domains (Halpert, 1982; Castells, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Whetten & Leung, 1979). Similarly, professional defensiveness reinforces professionalization and domain defence (Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009).

Another powerful factor affecting organisations' attitudes to policy coordination is a perception a *relative power of the members* (Alexander, 1995; Mandell & Steelman, 2003; Pierre, 2000). Prior research on power looked at interdependencies at the three levels: individual power, power between the sub-units within organisations, and interorganisational power (Ford, Wang, & Vestal, 2012). Mandell and Steelman (2003) assert that participants in the policy coordination from different power bases will have access to different levels of resources and may act in ways to compensate, reinforce or increase their power with respect to other members making dynamics of policy coordination more complex. Organisations involved in coordination should agree to

their status in relation to other participants in coordination to avoid power asymmetries due to interpersonal and interorganisational power struggle.

Ideas form the bases for collective actions and organisational identities (Schmidt V. , 2011). In the case of policy coordination, ideas may also be an impediment (Peters, 2013). *The role of ideas in policy coordination* is primarily in the fact that ideas provide the lenses through which policies are being interpreted by the policy actors and organisations (Béland & Cox, 2011; Mehta, 2011; Peters, 2013). These 'lenses' define how policy issues are perceived and if they differ or are incompatible than the space for policy coordination will be limited. Another way how ideas influence policy formation is through organisational learning (Fischer & Mandell, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). *Organisational learning* usually refers to the process of generating, accumulating and applying knowledge acquired outside and within the organisation in order to improve organisational performance or competitiveness (Cunliffe, 2008, p. 110). The process of acquiring new skills and knowledge involves learning from "new information, ideas, and perspectives [...], challenging existing beliefs and opening up new opportunities for policy change" (Hertin, et al., 2009). Organisational learning is important as it allows organisation to adapt and learn from experience.

Contextual factors include structural and environmental characteristics that affect policy coordination. Peters (1998) emphasises that *structural problems* inherent within the public sector could block effective coordination. For instance, tasks that are easier dealt with horizontally would be difficult to accomplish in a vertically steered organisational setting. However, if organisational structure is flexible enough to allow for innovation and such flexibility is a norm, it is highly probable that such organisation would easier engage in policy coordination (Halpert, 1982). Structural incongruence could arise in complex organisational settings (DiMaggio, 1992; Machado & Burn, 1998). Structural incongruence or contradictions cause unpredictability and disorder. Moreover, they could interfere with or block the capacity of the organization to act effectively, unless problems are dealt with.

Departmentalisation represents yet another structural problem pertinent to concentration of power and resources within clearly defined departments in order to reinforce self-interests of its members (Kavanagh & Richards, 2001). Departmentalisation could also be a reflection of the institutionalisation of welfare structure in terms of the division of responsibilities (professionalization), especially when that institutionalisation happens over a prolonged period of time (Alexander,

1995; Halpert, 1982). As a consequence, departments, or its constituent parts, become separated and fragmented.

Organisations with highly standardised procedures are better prepared for coordination as *standardisation* allows for establishment of closer supervision, enhanced accountability and higher professional standards (Litwak & Rothan, 1970). If the procedures are standardised beforehand that would allow for policy coordination to happen faster. Also, the greater diversity of *specialisation* organisation could offer leads to increase in linkages with other organisations and policy actors (Whetten & Aldrich, 1979). Improved *boundary permeability* at the early stages is crucial, as well as technical capacity for coordinative endeavour (Halpert, 1982).

Established *channels of communications* are precursors for effective policy coordination and highly complex organisations could be exposed to communication problems (Halpert, 1982; Machado & Burn, 1998). Complicate departmental ties, hierarchy and chains of accountability, could all have an adverse impact on communication. Similarly, *rules, norms and guidelines* developed within institutional arrangements over time could result in either restriction or support of the policy coordination (Mandell & Steelman, 2003). Differences in their interpretation and dissonant aims might not be detected until there is a conflicting situation, but if there is a room for debate those could be overcome.

Environmental characteristics include examining the impact of political and cultural context and shifting modes of governance. The *political and cultural context*, such as laws, attitudes and beliefs, could constrain activities in which it is publicly and politically acceptable for some policy actors to be involved (Mandell & Steelman, 2003). Volatility in terms of politics and economy could generate uncertainty and instability (Halpert, 1982). Unpredictability makes organisations and policy actors more aware of themselves and of the need for survival which could inhibit policy coordination.

Policy coordination is strongly dependent on legal provisions in place (Peters, 1998). For instance, policy coordination may be challenged if more than one organisation is assigned the same task (policy redundancy), when no organisation is assign to perform a task (policy lacunae), or when two or more pieces of legislation regulate the same policy field (policy incoherence). Peters (1998) asserts that policy incoherence is probably the most difficult problem to deal with as each organisation has its own reasoning behind actions they take and these could be in conflict.

A number of issues inherent to government and governance processes could exacerbate coordination (Ling, 2002; Challis, et al., 1988; Peters, 1998; Perri 6, 2002). *Shifting modes of governance* like governance regimes and governance reshuffling could make the management of sectoral policies more complex and more difficult to achieve. For instance, government reshuffle could add to coordination burdens by disaggregating previously existing structures into multiple agencies or departments (Greer, 1994; Peters, 1998). Ling (2002) emphasises that government reforms could cause fragmentation, for instance by producing functional differentiation between the departments, inducing decentralisation and devolution of power causing vertical separation, and introducing new policy issues that cross-cut government departments.

Urban governance and policy coordination

Urban governance is nowadays a field in constant flux because of the variety of policy agendas, interests and growing complexity of social life which triggers the search for mechanisms to cope with it (Breda-Vázquez, Conceição, & Fernandes, 2009; Healey, 2006). Complexity of the policy environment invokes the recognition that modern societies are becoming more functionally differentiated, but also fragmented and chaotic (Innes & Booher, 2010). As a result, institutional boundaries became fuzzy, interdependence within various departments greater, and departments, in order to keep up with new demands, recognise the importance of coordinative endeavour. A need to focus on coordination of the activities of the governmental, private and civil society actors slowly became a central objective of urban governance (Healey, 2006; Schout & Jordan, 2007; Vigar, 2009).

Whereas the previous three sections reviewed literature focussing on the theoretical foundations of policy coordination, this section presents a systematic review of the empirical studies discussing various aspects of policy coordination in urban governance, including governance of the historic environment. Table 1 summarises empirical studies that are identified irrespective of coordination contexts they refer to. Criteria for inclusion of the empirical studies into this review emanate from the definition of policy coordination proposed by this research and include evidence of (1) boundary-spanning between the policy fields, sectors and organisations, (2) internal adjustments in terms of mutual adjustment in order to reinforce new sets of objectives, means and instruments, and (3) struggle for power, dominancy and autonomy. Also,

all reviewed empirical studies offer insights into implications for policy coordination, namely barriers and opportunities. Some of the empirical studies only partially deal with policy coordination, and some others look at various aspects of collaboration and partnership, but they all deal with policy coordination in terms of the criteria proposed here.

The table shows the range of empirical settings (albeit mostly in the Europe), levels of analysis, time frames and methods from which ideas and insights have been generated. The table also summarises the key findings, and implications for policy coordination. The analysis revealed a predominance of qualitative methodological approaches over quantitative with a few studies that combine the two. Unfortunately, only two empirical studies presented here refer to governance of the historic environment – Guarneros-Meza (2008) and Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, and Pendlebury (2003) – while the remaining 15 touch on various aspects of policy coordination in urban governance.

Salet, Thornley and Kreukels (2003) identify three distinct dimensions of policy coordination in relation to urban governance: *spatial*, aimed at ensuring consistency across the levels and scales of policy-making and implementation, *functional*, intended at linking of the land-uses and activities, e.g. housing and transport, and *sectoral*, between public, semi-state, private and voluntary sectors.

Several studies have examined *spatial coordination* and its implications on interorganisational relations and policy formulation in the field of urban planning. Such examples include studies on *coupling between horizontal and vertical governance* (Koppenjan, Kars, & van der Voort, 2009) and *regeneration policy across various levels* (Mawson & Hall, 2000). Since the introduction of comprehensive spatial planning in the 1970s in many European countries there was a greater need for both horizontal and vertical coordination as various sectors had to engage in a joint work (Nadin, 2007; Vigar, 2009). Koppenjan, Kars and van der Voort (2009) shown that horizontal governance arrangements could conflict with the principles of representative democracy and its political institutions because they hamper interaction between the elected representatives (vertical governance) and the administration that holds executive power (horizontal governance). Although the former has the formal power to decide upon policies and their implementation, the latter participates in horizontal networks and therefore has more resources to influence the content, involvement, and outcomes of the policy process. This erodes the power position of the elected representatives. Mawson and Hall (2000) present an overview of

implementation of regeneration policy under the New Labour in the UK. They indicate that although many aspects of policy fragmentation emanate from the departmentalism at the centre, it is only at the local level that different facets of the policy could be brought together. Therefore, in their opinion, national policy priorities should match local knowledge, expertise and commitment.

Various studies have examined *functional coordination*. Such examples include studies on *growth management* (Margerum, 2002), *linking sectoral policies and territorial objectives in the EU* (Schout & Jordan, 2007), *land use and transport policy* (Sager, 2004), and *infrastructure and urban planning* (Tornberg, 2012). Margerum (2002), in an analysis of growth management in Queensland (Australia), notes that an important factor influencing the effectiveness of interorganisational relations is quality of the process because interaction itself is the 'energy' that sustains implementation. Similar concern about the importance of interactions in the policy coordination share Schout and Jordan (2007) as well. They examine linking of the sectoral policies and territorial objectives in the EU and draw the conclusion that territorial policy integration continues to be a political ambition due to insufficient administrative backing. However, they find that due to day-to-day policy developments that shape the interaction between politics and administration, administrative capacities at micro-level become important.

Sager (2004) examines linking of the land-use and transport policy in Switzerland. He suggests that in a fragmented urban area, voluntary negotiations are the only way to go when policy solutions for the whole urban agglomeration are sought. Also, the more policy decisions are left to experts, and the higher the room for manoeuvring by the administration, the less competitive the coordination process will be, even in fragmented territorial structures. Correspondingly, Tornberg (2012) focuses on the intersections of national infrastructure planning and urban planning in Sweden. His research reveals a gap in terms of the commitment signalled to join efforts, and thus also the expectations of their respective counterpart. Tornberg (2012) concludes that unrealistically high expectations and/or lack of willingness to commit to joint work could impede policy coordination.

Table 1: Summary of the literature review on policy coordination in urban planning

Author(s) and year of publication	Level of analysis, time frame and empirical setting	Method(s)	Key findings	Implications for policy coordination (barriers and opportunities)
Caffyn and Dahlstrom (2005)	Urban-rural interdependencies 1990s England	14 case studies Questionnaires and interview analysis	<p>Motivations for joint working:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to funding opportunities; - Nature of the policy issue; - Achieving greater outcomes than any of the partners individually; - Enabling more innovative work practices and outcomes; - Transfer of know-how; - Success stories stimulate new joint working. 	<p>Available funding opportunities;</p> <p>Legal provisions for joint working at various levels (local, regional and national);</p> <p>Process of joint working is hampered by differences in organisational cultures, but differences could be overcome through networks;</p> <p>Lack of resources hampers any joint venture.</p>
Guarneros-Meza (2008)	Governance networks 1993-2004 Querétaro and San Luis Potosí, Mexico	Comparative study of 2 historic city centres Document and interview analysis	<p>By comparing two cities, the author concludes that, firstly, fragmentation at the municipal level is a result of decentralisation, and secondly, public-private partnerships act as triggers for formation of governance networks that bring together both governmental and non-governmental actors.</p>	<p>Fragmentation and the lack of coordination between the actors in a policy process results in general lack of trust;</p> <p>Centralisation hampers attempts at self-governance.</p>
Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour and Pendlebury (2003)	Partnership initiative 'Grainger Town' 1990s Project, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK	Single case study Document and interview analysis	<p>This research concludes that although the local policy arena is full of networks that policy actors "did not have within them the kind of social capital which would make them work to sustain a city-centre regeneration initiative" (p. 77).</p>	<p>Government reshuffle generates tensions;</p> <p>Interests from within and outside of the locality could challenge and limit policy coordination;</p> <p>Power struggles have transformative potential in terms of enabling alternatives to hierarchy.</p>
John and Cole	Policy adaptation	Comparative study of	Public sector still drives policy	Local organisational culture supportive of

(1998)	and coordination Mid 1990s Lille, France and Leeds, England	2 cities Document and interview analysis	adaptation and coordination processes; Development projects help strengthen urban governance and spirit of trust both in Lille and Leeds.	cross-boundary work; Public-private partnerships strengthen trust among participants; Ambiguity about the role of private sector in France; Public-private cooperation is still recent and fragile in Lille.
Koppenjan, Kars, and van der Voort (2009)	Coupling between horizontal governance and vertical politics 2000s Denmark	6 case studies Document analysis and focus groups	Horizontal governance arrangements could conflict with the principles of representative democracy and its political institutions because they hamper interaction between representatives and the executive power. Although the former has the formal power to decide upon policies and their implementation, the latter participates in horizontal networks and therefore has more resources to influence the content, evolution, and outcomes of the policy process. This erodes the power position of representatives.	Due to the complex organisational structure higher tiers have little control over lower tiers; Complex organisational structure hampers effective decision-making, steering and monitoring; Strong horizontal organisational interdependencies put higher tiers in disadvantage (vertical fragmentation); Shared responsibilities could lead to arbitrary implementation.
Le Gales (2001)	Policy networks and urban governance 1980s and 1990s Various cities in France	Multiple case studies Document and interview analysis	At the local level, policy networks do not matter that much, but networks of actors, which are not specifically oriented towards one policy sector, matter very much. Among all actors, the political leaders have a pivotal role; Networks strongly reflect existing structures of power and existing	Strong multipurpose networks could ensure effective policy coordination; Political leadership is of crucial importance; Networks reflect structures of power and hierarchies.

Margerum (2002)	Growth management 1996-2001 Queensland, Australia	6 case studies Document and interview analysis	hierarchies. An important factor influencing the effectiveness of interorganisational relations is quality of the process; interaction itself is the 'energy' that sustains implementation.	Concentration of the power in higher tier of hierarchy leads to issues not being adequately addressed; Previous collaborative ventures build trust, shared understanding and capacity for coordination of projects in future; Boundary-spanning creates structural and personal infrastructure in place for future projects; Former coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours.
Mawson and Hall (2000)	Regeneration policy 1992-1997 United Kingdom	Document analysis Quantitative analysis	Although many aspects of policy fragmentation emanate from the departmentalism at the centre, it is only at the local level that different facets of the policy could be brought together. Therefore, national policy priorities should match local knowledge, expertise and commitment.	Lack of funding allocated to administering coordination activities impedes implementation of projects; Differences in departmental rules and regulations make cross-boundary coordination difficult; Culture of departmentalism at the local level constrains coordination.
Pearce and Ayres (2007)	Institutional change and policy coordination in regional policy 2002-2007 England	8 case studies Document and interview analysis	Administrative decentralisation in the English regions is too limited to have much impact, and measures to enable regional actors to work across organisational boundaries have been incremental; Effectiveness of the government's plans depends crucially on the commitment of Whitehall departments to sign up to the new single regional strategies and adopt	Differences in approach, overlapping agendas, confused patterns of responsibility and focussing only on targets and performance restrict policy coordination; Complex partnership structures hamper coordination in terms of power, political legitimacy, leverage and resource dependencies; Fuzzy roles and responsibilities hamper implementation;

				a set of shared objectives and targets that meet individual regional needs.	Differences in understanding of what some policy concepts mean (e.g. sustainable development) hamper coordination process.
Rayle and Zegras (2013)	Inter-municipal policy coordination Mid 1990s – 2009 Lisbon and Porto in Portugal	Comparative case studies Document and interview analysis	Combination of issues facilitates coordination, i.e. ambiguity and flexibility in the institutional system, existing inter-organizational networks, and specific organizational characteristics, though none of these alone is enough; Most likely way to achieve policy coordination is through associations that can support collaborative projects.		Benefits versus costs as an external trigger for coordination; Existing organizational and personal ties are critical to establishing both formal and informal collaborative partnership; Leadership is important for coordination, but not necessary if other conditions are supportive; Coordination will more likely emerge in contexts with flexible legal and institutional structures; Intervention by a third party often plays a deciding role in the emergence of coordination.
Robins, Pattison, and Bates (2011)	Coordination through network governance 2004-2006 The Swan and Canning River system, Western Australia	Single case study Document and interview analysis Quantitative analysis	While legislation and statutory arrangements may underpin the formal mechanisms and power relationships, the actual functional relationships rely on a broader set of contextual factors including the level of agency experience with collective decision-making and the professional goals of individuals; Informal relationships are vital for horizontal coordination happening through network governance.		Some of the terminology used in projects is rather vague and open to multiple interpretations; Hierarchy prevails as a model of network governance as interactions among policy actors group around the central task group; There is no consensus among policy actors on issues that cut across policy fields (failure to reach broad agreement on what is the priority in terms of policy).
Sager (2004)	Land use and transport policies	9 case studies Document analysis	In a fragmented urban area, voluntary negotiations are the only way to go		Fragmentation is a result of professionalization and autonomy;

Beginning of 2000s Switzerland	Statistical analysis	when policy solutions for the whole agglomeration are sought; The more policy decisions are left to experts, and the higher the room for manoeuvring by the administration, the less competitive the coordination process will be, even in fragmented territorial structures.	Bureaucratic centralization and autonomy from the political sphere seem to be important conditions for attaining formal rationality in coordination processes; An institutional setting that has centralized administrative structure, fragmented territorial order, and high bureaucratic autonomy displays rational decision-making.
Schäfer (2005)	Coordination of spatial development 1986-2004 European Union	This research proposes that it is urgently necessary to discuss organisation, form and content of the coordination of spatially relevant policies in terms of sustainable and comprehensive European spatial development and to decide on how to approach their implementation. That is especially true against the backdrop of the eastern EU expansion and the associated challenges.	Political motivation as a driver for policy coordination (e.g. cross-border projects between France and Germany); Economic development as a driver of horizontal coordination between developed and underdeveloped regions; Establishment of interorganisational steering committee helps improve coordination, both horizontal and vertical one; Central government could improve conditions for policy coordination by introducing legal provisions that remove obstacles for intersectoral collaboration.
Schout and Jordan (2007)	The EU's capacity to link sectoral policies and territorial objectives 1986-2007 Germany and the Netherlands	The territorial policy integration remains a political ambition without sufficient administrative backing; Ultimately, integrating territorial concerns is a political objective. However, the administrative capacities at micro-level are important too, because day-to-day policy developments shape the interaction between politics	Fragmentation within the organisations is due to staff being overloaded and required to think 'outside the box'; Political will and commitment will not suffice; organisations need administrative capacity to put policies into effect; Coordination to be effective should be based on shared understanding and consensus over policy direction;

				and administration.	Informal horizontal networks require leadership otherwise fail due to the lack of commitment and binding agreements; Regular meetings of the interorganisational teams (horizontal coordination) improve administrative coordination.
Sørensen (2014)	Pluricentric regions 2007-2011 The region of Zealand, Denmark	Single case study Interviews, observations and document analysis	The productive role of conflicts is particularly visible in times of radical change that calls for a recasting of the sedimented world views and practices of the involved actors, as well as the relationship between them (there are two types of conflicts: conflicts of interest and conflicts of interpretation); Conflicts have a role to play in the ongoing shaping and reshaping of the institutional conditions for political, administrative and task-related coordination.		Conflict could either act as an enhancer or a barrier to coordination; conflicts in the early stages play a key role in ensuring that involved actors were forced to depart from traditional world views, role perceptions and practices; The formal institutionalization of coordination play an important role in staging conflicts of interest and conflicts of interpretation in ways that over time lead to the development of new role perceptions among the policy actors; Informal coordination networks play a role in ensuring administrative and task-related coordination; The emerging institutional frame for dealing with conflicts is moving into place to support sides in conflict, rather than to help reach consensus (institutionalisation).
Törnberg (2012)	Coordination of infrastructure and urban planning 2001-2010 Sweden	Single case study (Eastern Link in Norrköping) Documents, interviews and observation	The research reveals a gap in terms of the commitment signalled to join efforts, and thus also the expectations of their respective counterpart.		Unrealistically high expectations and/or lack of willingness to commit to joint work could impede coordination; Technocratic tradition conflicts with market-centred coordination;

Vigar (2009)	Planning devolution at the level of networks 1999 – 2007 Scotland	Multiple case studies Document and interview analysis	<p>There is evidence of spatial planning performing a key role in policy integration and providing some form of meta-governance in Scotland.</p> <p>(the other key findings concern implications for policy coordination and those are in the next column)</p>	<p>Proliferation of ideas during preparation stage could change an overall goal(s) of coordination.</p> <p>Differences in socio-economic conditions and institutional histories between the organisations/departments result in difficulties in coordination processes;</p> <p>The ideas rather move horizontally through the networks than being handed down through hierarchy;</p> <p>Difficulties in horizontal-vertical coordination – the silos effect;</p> <p>Centralised steering creates limited space for dialogue;</p> <p>Numerous regulatory changes lead to institutional fragmentation;</p> <p>Differences in planning time-scales between the departments affect coordination.</p>
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The majority of studies reviewed here consider *sectoral coordination* and they focus on the *urban-rural interdependencies* (Caffyn & Dahlstrom, 2005), *policy adaptation and coordination* (John & Cole, 1998), *historic city centre partnerships* (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003; Guarneros-Meza, 2008), *policy networks* (Le Gales, 2001; Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011; Vigar, 2009), *inter-municipal policy coordination* (Rayle & Zegras, 2013), *institutional change and policy coordination in regional policy* (Pearce & Ayres, 2007), *coordination of spatial development* (Schäfer, 2005) and *polycentric regions* (Sørensen, 2014).

Caffyn and Dahlstrom (2005) examine urban-rural interdependencies in policy coordination. The main concern of this empirical study is to better understand motivations for joint working. The authors find several factors affecting motivation towards joint endeavours, such as easier access to funding opportunities, being able to achieve greater outcomes than any of the partners individually, and facilitating more innovative work practices and outcomes. Comparative study of two cities by John and Cole (1998) – Lille (France) and Leeds (United Kingdom) – illuminates how differences in geographical, cultural and institutional contexts reflect on the policy adaptation and coordination. They identify non-institutional factors that influence creation of regime-like local polities, namely, business ownership and integration, metropolitan context and economic advantage or disadvantage.

Various empirical studies examined policy coordination between public, private and voluntary sectors in urban governance. However, few studies dealt with policy coordination in the process of governance of the historic environment. Reporting on an empirical study of the partnership initiative ‘Grainger Town’ in the UK, Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, and Pendlebury (2003) identify various implications for policy coordination. For instance, that government reshuffle generates tensions while power struggles have transformative potential in terms of enabling alternatives to hierarchy. Also, interests from within and outside of the locality could challenge and limit policy coordination. They conclude that although the local policy arena is full of networks, policy actors “did not have within them the kind of social capital which would make them work to sustain a city-centre regeneration initiative” (p. 77). Concluding a comparative study of historic city centre partnerships in Mexico, Guarneros-Meza (2008) identify that, firstly, fragmentation at the municipal level is a result of decentralisation, and secondly, public-private partnerships act as triggers for formation of governance networks that bring together both governmental and non-governmental actors.

Several empirical studies examined network governance. Robins, Pattison, & Bates (2011) emphasize that while legislation and statutory arrangements may underpin the formal mechanisms and power relationships, the actual functional relationships rely on a broader set of contextual factors including the level of agency experience with collective decision-making and the professional goals of individuals. Their empirical study of policy coordination through networks also finds that informal relationships are vital for horizontal coordination happening through network governance. In a review of the meta-governance and planning devolution in Scotland, Vigar (2009) asserts that differences in socio-economic conditions and institutional histories between the organisations result in difficulties in coordination processes, while numerous regulatory changes lead to institutional fragmentation. He also identifies that the ideas rather move horizontally through the networks than being handed down through hierarchy. Le Gales (2001) establishes that, at the local level, policy networks do not matter that much, but networks of actors, which are not specifically oriented towards one policy sector, matter very much.

In an analysis of inter-municipal policy coordination, Rayle and Zegras (2013) discover that combination of issues facilitates coordination, i.e. ambiguity and flexibility in the institutional system, existing inter-organizational networks, and specific organizational characteristics, though none of these alone is enough. They conclude that most likely way to achieve policy coordination is through associations that can support collaborative projects.

Pearce and Ayres (2007) analyse institutional change and policy coordination in regional policy in England. They assert that administrative decentralisation in the English regions is too limited to have much impact, and measures to enable regional actors to work across organisational boundaries have been incremental. In their opinion, effectiveness of the government's plans depends crucially on the commitment of Whitehall departments to sign up to the new single regional strategies and adopt a set of shared objectives and targets that meet individual regional needs. In an analysis of coordination of spatial development, Schäfer (2005) proposes that it is urgently necessary to discuss organisation, form and content of the coordination of spatially relevant policies in terms of sustainable and comprehensive European spatial development and to decide on how to approach their implementation. That was especially true against the backdrop of the eastern EU expansion and the associated challenges. Finally, reporting on an empirical study of the polycentric regions Sørensen (2014) finds that conflicts could play a productive role in times of radical change that calls for a recasting of the sedimented world views and practices of the

involved actors. Also, conflicts are important in the ongoing shaping and reshaping of the institutional conditions for political, administrative and task-related coordination.

Implications from the literature review and the emerging issues

The purpose of the literature review was threefold. Firstly, to identify the contributions that can be made by the new research and how that new research might contribute to the existing research and debates. Secondly, to justify the research approach that has been chosen and on the basis of reviewing the theories and approaches previously used to study the topic. And finally to assist reaching specific research questions.

The first part of the literature review – *heritage conservation and spatial planning* – outlined various themes and concepts that were of interests to the academics in relation to conservation and governance of the historic environment. This part of the literature review has identified a bias towards development of legislation guidelines, as a lot of attention has been given to the development of different kinds of recommendations and their transfer to and institutionalisation in the national contexts. The value of this international doctrine was that it influenced formulation of the legislation, as well as formation of the institutions and practice internationally, therefore playing an important role. The underlying assumptions of this dominant theoretical grounding are rooted in its normative and positivist accounts. Specifically, theory of conservation and governance of the historic environment was primarily developed in order to support production of prescriptive approaches to guide practice and the development of legislation without paying much attention to the contextual factors such as the organisational culture, tacit knowledge, practices, traditions or behaviour. However, seeking for the best or optimal solutions often does not work as it presupposes the condition of certainty and it is because of those contextual factors that planning and policy problems often differ from one locality to the other (Blyth, 2002; Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Yanow, 2000).

The research presented here challenges underlying assumptions rooted in normativism and positivism by disrupting the established line of thinking and embracing *interpretive paradigm* to question dominant theory because interpretivism assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and

subjectivist epistemology where understandings and knowledge are socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012; Fischer, 2003). Viewing conservation and governance of the historic environment as a contextualised and subjective process means taking into account what is meaningful to policy actors as meanings are context and situation specific and dependent (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). Therefore, this research is set to ask *how contextual factors influence governance of the historic city centres*, and in particular *how practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia?* As a result, the next section of the literature review – *the complexity of urban governance and urban governance and coordination* – aimed to provide theoretical grounding for answering these questions.

The informing theories have been chosen because of their importance in providing theoretical grounding for studying governance of the historic environment in line with the chosen epistemology. The first two theories examine governance and complexity from a micro-social perspective and provide an introduction to studying urban governance. The following two present urban governance as a deliberative practice, and as a situated and contextual practice. What they have in common is a focus on the local contexts and relationships between the policy actors. A comprehensive review of the empirical studies in the field of heritage conservation at the micro-social level revealed that there is a deficit of studies that deal with micro-social analysis of conservation practice, as well as studies that would take micro contextual factors into account to account for relationships of the policy actors at the local level, thus more work has to be done. Considering that governance of the historic environment is management of cross-cutting issues that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields and do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments, final informing theory presented here is related to policy coordination. In particular, theory of policy coordination helps in identifying factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination which leads to another important questions for this research: *why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another*, as well as, *what type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?*

As a result, the literature review has shown that there is a great need for an in-depth research of governance of the conservation areas that would create thick interpretation and analysis of the processes that happen at the micro-social level.

Therefore, the research presented here will take the stand that practices of the urban governance are arising from the bottom-up, and that governance is a product of multitude of individual interpretations, beliefs and understandings of the policy actors involved. Previous research has identified that research has been generally moving towards this direction but that the research about governance of the conservation areas has been sporadic and have not yet created comprehensive body of knowledge. What is missing was a better understanding of the organisational rationality and institutional processes underpinning the process of governance. This literature review has provided a starting point for understanding the processes of institutionalisation of the conservation as those were greatly influenced by the international doctrines and practices that have been transferred to the local contexts internationally. Yet, it is a local culture that shapes organisational rationality of the policy actors involved and therefore created variances. Such research is important as it would offer important insights for both research and practice about the areas of underlying tensions.

Research problem

This research represents *a pursuit for better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. *Organisational rationality* here is understood as a normative concept that refers to logic coming out of broader cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide decision-making in a field (Lounsbury, 2008). More importantly, it refers to a concept of *institutional logic* that looks at how cultural rules and cognitive structures shape organizational structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977), as well as what effect behaviours of individual and organizational actors have on institutional logic in return (Thornton, 2004) therefore providing a link between structure and agency in an organisational context (Giddens, 1984).

Against this background, *this research seeks to establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process*. Although comprehensive integrated spatial planning has become a tradition in many countries, insufficient coordination between different aspects of policy, various departments, organisations or policy sectors can potentially infringe an overall effort of efficient governance of the historic city centres.

Coordination here denotes a “set of processes by which initially distinct plans are brought to a condition of compatibility” (Menard, 1994, p. 224).

The problems addressed in this research are twofold. Firstly, this research provides a *comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. In essence, this research asks following questions: *how contextual factors such as practices and local traditions influence governance of the historic city centres in Serbia? And, how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*

Secondly, this research *identifies barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. *Why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another? What type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?* In particular, this research will identify factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination.

Essentially, this research claims that organisational rationality plays important role in shaping the decision making process and the behaviour of policy actors, and that also has a potential to create barriers and opportunities, decide on how policy issues are interpreted and what gets to constitute accepted arguments in the policy debate, and what does not. Moreover, this research claims that organisational rationality that underpins the practice of governance is a heterogeneous phenomenon and that the way organisations have been designed and governed will depend, both on the national culture, and on the local culture as it depends on norms, values and knowledge of the local policy actors.

Conclusions

This literature review served several important functions. The first part – *heritage conservation and spatial planning* – presented a systematic review of literature about the intellectual history of conservation and planning of the historic environment and its contemporary developments by looking to its most important advances. That provided an opportunity to identify underlying assumptions in this field and to decide on how to challenge them, namely by applying interpretive paradigm to question normative bias of dominant theory that has been identified. In contrast, the next two parts of the

literature review – *the complexity of urban governance and urban governance and coordination* – review history of the ideas important for understanding complex reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process. Since research problem transcend the boundaries of specific discipline, several theories have been presented as theories that would assist understanding of the research problem and its analysis. In this sense, aim of the literature review was to provide theoretical grounding upon which it would be possible to identify contributions that can be made by the new research, justify the research approach that has been chosen and draw conclusions about the approach that is likely to be best suited to the investigation.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Introduction

Prior to any research, it is important to delineate methods and tools that will guide the research process further. Following problematisation presented in the literature review, as well as research problem, this Chapter aims to develop in detail methodological groundings in order to find logical answers to the main research questions and explain the bases on which they have been chosen. Primary emphasis was placed on capturing the richness and depth interpretive paradigm has to offer to this research by providing detail accounts on a group of approaches that could be subsumed under the term the argumentative policy analysis. After that, the Chapter proceeds with description of the research strategy. It starts with the method deployed here – the exploratory multiple case studies research – and it continues with the development of interview protocol used to collect the data. The Chapter continues by assessing quality of the research by proposing the criteria for judging interpretive research. Finally, it presents the analytic categories developed to analyse data collected and evaluate how those contribute to the research of policy coordination in urban governance.

Methodological groundings of the research

In the past two decades a growing number of scholars in policy research have focussed on the role of ideas and arguments in policy deliberation. That resulted in what is commonly described as *argumentative turn* in policy research (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). The research presented here uses a group of different approaches that share the emphasis on language and communication – *interpretive policy analysis*, *frame analysis* and *discourse analysis* –, that all could be subsumed under the approach called *the argumentative policy analysis*. What they have in common is that they put ideas, meanings, and belief in the centre of the debate and that they all share subjectivist epistemological stand.

Fischer (2007) asserts that the argumentative turn emerged as a result of an effort to deal with limitations posed by the post-positivist epistemologies as well as to the technocratic practices of decision-making. In particular, it was the lack of 'usable knowledge' presented to policymakers that caused scholars to look at practices and informal logic of policymaking instead of the formal logic of post-positivism (Fischer, 2003; Fischer & Forester, 1993; Forester, 1999b; Buchstein & Jörke, 2012).

Interpretivism and policy analysis

Interpretive paradigm embraces *relativist ontology* that assumes multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings are socially constructed and co-created between the knower and the respondent (Constantino, 2008; Howe, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012). Interpretivism suggests that each individual construct its knowledge and experiences through social interactions and disallows the existence of an external objective reality. Therefore, the emphasis is put on understanding (*Verstehen*) rather than on explaining phenomena (*Erklärung*). This distinction, often referred to as the *interpretive turn*, was initiated by the writings of Edmund Husserl, Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey in the 19th century (Howe, 1998; Constantino, 2008; Yanow, 2000).

The interpretive research tradition is based on the presupposition that a social world is characterised by the possibilities of multiple interpretations, that there are no data whose meaning is beyond dispute, and that living requires sense making and sense making entails interpretation (Fischer, 2000; Fischer, 2003; Yanow, 2007a; Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Firmin, 2008). Actors in a policy process acquire their knowledge through interpretation that is subjective and reflects their education, training and experience, as well as the individual, familial and communal background (Fischer, 2007; Yanow, 2000). Actors do not create the world anew; their behaviour is socially constrained and their intentions are influenced by predispositions, conventions and rules which are time and context bound (Neuman, 2006; Vannini, 2008; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Also, other policy artefacts, such as policy documents, legislation and implementation, are not instrumentally rational but also expressive of meanings (Yanow, 2000).

Interpretive approach to policy analysis focuses on the social meanings that policies have for a broad range of policy-relevant publics, including but not limited to clients,

legislators, agency administrators, implementers or potential voters (Fischer, 2003; Yanow, 2000). Interpretive policy analysis takes into account what is meaningful to policy actors, but also how the researcher's meaning-making alter the interpretation (Yanow, 2007a). Interpretive policy analysis focuses not only on "what policy-relevant elements carry or convey meaning, what these meanings are, who is making them, and how they are being communicated, but also on the methods through which the analyst-researcher accesses and generates these meanings and analyzes them" (Yanow, 2007a, p. 111). Meanings are context and situation specific and dependent on local knowledge held by relevant policy actors (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). Analysis that focuses on meanings is highly contextualised and takes into consideration not only expert knowledge but tacit knowledge as it influences policy actors' behaviour. Tacit knowledge refers to values and meanings that are tacitly and not explicitly known and are rooted in local practices and traditions. Gadamer (1989) asserts that each individual belongs to tradition construed by pre-understandings of truth, knowledge and meanings. Those traditions are not a constraint upon understanding but precondition of it. Interpretive policy analysis understands traditions as "webs of related practices comprised of inherited patterns of thought and actions ... [and] beliefs and practices that are handed down from the past" (Choi, 2007b, p. 975). In sum, interpretive policy analysis acknowledges not only the expert knowledge but local and tacit knowledge situated in traditions and local knowledge. It examines which policy meanings are transmitted, to which audiences those are intended, and how it is interpreted by its readers. For Yanow (2000) it is important 'what' specific policy mean, as well as 'how' they mean. Therefore the question becomes: how different parties in the policy debate conceptualise or 'frame' policy issues?

Frame analysis

The metaphors of the 'frame' and 'framing' can be traced back to 1970s and the work of Ervin Goffman. For Goffman (1974, pp. 10-11) frame is a principle of organisation "which governs the subjective meaning that we assign to social events", where some issues are highlighted, and at the same time others excluded. Polletta and Ho (2006) assert that frames as structures are pointing to the deeper logic that supports political contention. As actors use arguments to support their views, their very understanding of what to involve is shaped by frames they take for granted. Frames get legitimised through ideas and values which could be either cognitive or normative (Moini, 2011; Surel, 2000). Framing on the other hand is both "a way of selecting, organising,

interpreting, and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analysing, persuading and acting” (Rein & Schön, 1993, p. 146), and a process by which fragments of information are structured into a meaningful whole (Fischer, 2003; Rein & Schön, 1993).

In interpretive policy analysis cognitive and normative frames produce what is known as *policy frames* (Schön & Rein, 1994), *policy discourses* (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer, 2003; Rein & Schön, 1993), *metaphors, rituals, myths and symbols* (Yanow, 2000), or *discourse coalitions* (Hajer, 1993). In the literature offering interpretive accounts on politics and governance frames this could be traced through writings, such as Hall’s (1993) on *policy paradigm*, Sabatier’s (1988) on *belief systems*, or *policy belief systems* (Hoppe, Pranger, & Besseling, 1990), *ideas* (Majone, 1992; Goldstein & Keohane, 1993; Yee, 1996), *narratives and metanarratives* (Kaplan, 1993; Roe, 1994) and *categories of thought* (Stone, 2002). Kinsella (2006) and Shaw (2007) suggest that *frame analysis* represents a flexible label for approaches aimed at studying social construction of knowledge and reality, as all knowledge is constructed, knowledge construction entails the activation of our normative and cognitive framing, and cognitive and normative framing are being continually developed and transformed purposively as a result of adaptation to the social environment.

Frames also could be in conflict if they use the same body of evidence to support quite different policy positions, but they always take place within a context. In their seminal work on ‘frame reflection’ Schön and Rein (1994) argue that conflicting frames could be evidence of policy controversies between policy actors competing to impose their opinion in a dialogue. Necessity to come to joint solution could lead to *reframing* of the policy problems, process where policy actors building on existing frames legitimise the new policy stand in the process of policy deliberation.

Discourse analysis

Discourse theory streams from the three schools of thinking, namely structuralism, Marxism and hermeneutics (Howarth, 2000). The major influence on discourse theory had structuralist theory especially through the work of thinkers Ferdinand de Saussure, Louis Hjelmslev and Roman Jakobson, and post-structuralists Michael Foucault, Fransa Lyotard, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. For them the meaning is a product of the system of signs as it depends on complex system of relations between the signs. So Laclau (1993) stipulates that to understand what the

word 'mother' means one must understand other related terms such as 'father', 'daughter' or 'son'. On the other hand, Marxism regards ideas, language and consciousness as ideological phenomena related to economic and political processes (Howarth, 2000; Hindess, 1993).

However, hermeneutical tradition is the most important one for this research. Building on the hermeneutical philosophers such as Martin Heidegger, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Peter Winch, discourse theorists focus on actors' own understandings and interpretation of meanings (Howarth, 2000; van den Brink & Metze, 2006; Warnke, 1987; Yanow, 2007b). Hajer (1995) asserts that discourses become both the medium and the outcome of human agency because by assigning meanings actors construct discourses while in the same time active discourses present the context in which meaning-making processes take place and therefore influence the construction of meaning. Drawing on the hermeneutical tradition, discourse theory is "concerned with understanding and interpreting socially produced meanings, rather than searching for objective casual explanations" (Howarth, 2000, p. 128). That means that discourse analysis – if applied to policy formation, learning and urban planning – focuses on how actors and organisations frame and reframe their ideas and arguments in order to formulate and solve policy problems (van den Brink & Metze, 2006).

Explaining how discourses, ideas, concepts and narratives influence social and political processes and their outcomes became a central task for a growing number of scholars in the field of *discursive institutionalism* in the past decade (Blyth, 2002; Fischer, 2003; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004; Schmidt V. , 2012). With the turn to ideas, institutional theory moved from the three older institutionalisms – rational choice, historical and sociological institutionalism – to the constructivist approaches that shifted our understanding on how ideas are communicated through discourse, and allowed us to explain the dynamics of policy change by suggesting that "there is no 'objective world' out there that exists independently of our manmade ideational and symbolic orders (Arts & Buizer, 2009, p. 342)." Hajer (1995, p. 44) suggests that discourse denotes "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities." Following this definition, discursive institutionalism looks at how ideas are used as forces that individuals and institutions use in the discursive interactive process of policy change (Schmidt V. , 2011). In this context, discourses and ideas cannot be looked at in isolation from social practices, power and institutions because the former constitute the latter.

New ideas do not emerge into public policy in a void; to the contrary, they are constrained by pre-existing narratives, discourses, institutional settings and modes of rationality that have already achieved discursive structuration (Atkinson, 2000; Hajer, 2003). Hajer (2003, p. 46) asserts that discursive structuration occurs only “when a discourse starts to dominate the way a society conceptualizes the world.” Discursive structuration determines what the legitimate discourses can be, how policy problems can be conceptualised and what the appropriate modes of action are. If such discourses begin to dominate institutional practices and influence policy formulation and direction, they become institutionalised. As actors try to impose their views on others, they start to form discourse coalitions that share similar storylines and practices used to institutionalise those storylines (Hajer, 1993; Schmidt V. , 2010). Discourse coalitions are formed only if two conditions are fulfilled – the condition of discourse structuration and the condition of discourse institutionalisation. In that context, planning and conservation practices, as historically contingent processes, generate discursive practices that can be identified through the analysis of discourses that achieved structuration and became institutionalised.

The argumentative policy analysis

Planning is an argumentative process as in the policy arena multiple planning ideas are argued and discussed. Fischer and Forester (1993) recognise the argumentative character of policy analysis and planning practice and suggest that focus on arguments can help understand *what* policy claims, *to whom* and *how*. It also enables the researchers to study the micropolitics within the policy networks and understand organisational boundaries. Fischer and Forester (1993) assert that arguments are context-specific, so the way policy problems are constructed matter because it is contagious of the contextual factors.

The ‘argumentative turn’, first introduced in a book *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning* edited by Frank Fischer and John Forester in 1993, has advocated for a new direction in policy analysis and planning (Fischer & Forester, 1993; van den Brink & Metze, 2006). It marked the shift from the dominant empirical and analytical approaches focussed on problem solving to one putting emphasise on argumentation (Fischer & Gottweis, 2012). Since then theory and research on argumentative policy analysis has proliferated resulting in rich body of knowledge in

various fields such as political theory, organisation theory, institutional theory or social policy. In terms of analysis, various approaches have been proposed and those used in this research will be discussed here.

Rein and Schön (1993, p. 145) use term *policy discourse* to explain “the interactions of individuals, interest groups, social movements, and institutions through which problematic situations are converted to policy problems, agendas are set, decisions are made, and actions are taken.” Policy process entails the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation happens across borders of different fields (Willard, 1996; Fischer, 2000). This so called *field of arguments* is used here as a unit of analysis. Fischer (2000, p. 255) defines field of arguments as “a discursive terrain of inquiry organized around particular judgemental system for deciding what counts as knowledge as well as the adjudication of competing claims.”

The other way to study field of argument is to analyse its distribution and organisation across institutions and policy practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Fischer, 2000). Institutions here serve as arenas for policy argumentation where practices and institutions create their own rationalities and knowledge. Rationality here both denotes a broader cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide decision-making in a field of arguments and refers to logic and knowledge (Lounsbury, 2008). It denotes a point of view of the individuals working within the organisation; the point of view that has a power to guide what ideas get embraced or marginalised. Alexander (2000) suggests that beliefs, statements, and actions are all associated with rationality. For Alexander (2000) rationalities concerned with statements are linked to the argumentation theory and they include communicative rationality and deliberative rationality, while some forms of bounded rationality, such as incrementalism and pragmatic rationality, bridge these two groups. What they all have in common is the association between the rationality on the one hand, and beliefs and actions on the other.

Similarly to a field of argument, the concept of an *organisational field* has been developed in organisation studies to define a set of organizations that “in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). Actors in organisational fields are governed by shared rules and meanings; those allow them to understand the behaviour of organisations in the field (Fligstein, 2007). Using DiMaggio and Powell’s definition as a basis, Scott and Meyer (1991) further the concept of organisational field into what they name a *societal sector*. The concept of a

societal sector refers to society-wide organisational structures that display functional differentiation (Lopes, 2008; Scott, 2008; Machado-da-Silva, Guarido Filho, & Rossoni, 2006). Scott and Meyer (1991, p. 117) define a societal sector as “(1) a collection of organizations operating in the same domain, as identified by the similarity of their services, products or functions, (2) together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of the local organizations: for example, major suppliers and customers, owners and regulators, funding sources and competitors.” In their opinion, in researching societal sector the key task is to analyse how policy actors organise into governance networks, and how organisation of the sector affects functioning, structure and populating of the sector (Scott & Meyer, 1991).

Argumentative policy analysis rests on long tradition of interpretive inquiry that focuses on “understanding (interpreting) the meanings, purposes, and intentions (interpretations) people give to their own actions and interactions with others” (Firmin, 2008, p. 459) (words in the brackets in original text). That study of the theory and practice of understanding and interpretation is called hermeneutics (Freeman, 2008). Hermeneutics as a method deals with clarifying the meanings of narratives by taking into consideration the context in which interpretation is placed and one's understanding of the meaning as a whole in reference to one's understanding of each individual part (Gadamer, 1975; Freeman, 2008). Gadamer (1975) that iterative understanding, or as he call it a ‘back-and-forth’ interpretation, call a *hermeneutic circle*. Consequently, one's understanding of a sentence depends on the relationship between each word in a sentence. Similarly, the meaning of individual words is related to the context of sentence as a whole. This is a circular process as meaning is developed in a process of interpretation.

Yanow (2007a) asserts that the idea of the hermeneutic circle in ethnography has been present through different methods of analysis – as an interpretive community, or a community of meaning, and in later works as an epistemic community and a community of practice. A term *interpretive communities* has been introduced by Stanley Fish to explain how diverse readers and writers produce similar interpretations of the reality (Oxford Reference, 2011b). Social constructivists suggest that interpreting involves construction and maintenance of reality; those groups of interpreters represent interpretive communities (Yanow, 2007a). Similarly, *communities of meaning* are bind together by their “location within an agency's organisational structure, professional training and membership, sex and gender, and a myriad other possible dimensions” (Yanow, 2003, p. 237). For Clunan (2007, p. 278) *epistemic community* is “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and

authoritative claims to policy-relevant knowledge in a particular issue area.” What these professionals have in common are sets of norms, beliefs and criteria for evaluating knowledge that guide their action.

The most important method of analysis for this research is a *community of practice*. Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 98) define a *community of practice* as “an activity system in which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their community.” For a group of policy actors to be called a community of practice it is necessary to fulfil three conditions; first, dealing with the shared sets of issues over longer period of time – *domain of knowledge* –, second, commitment to shared understanding, learning and sharing of the ideas – *community* –, and third, a specific focus around which community develops and maintains its existence – *practice* (Swan, Scarbough, & Robertson, 2002; Eckert, 2006; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). A community of practice engages its members in a joint sense-making both about their relationship to other communities of practice and, more generally, about the world around them.

Research strategy

Case study research

A research strategy deployed here is *the exploratory multiple case studies research*. The term *exploratory* here refers to a systematic data collection aimed at maximising the discovery of generalisations based on different understandings of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia (Blatter, 2008; Stebins, 2008; Yin, 2008). The exploratory multiple case studies are used here to investigate under-researched area with an aim to generate new theories of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. The emergent theoretical generalisations are varied, overlapping and many. Stebins (2008, p. 327) suggests that they include “descriptive facts, folk concepts, cultural artefacts, structural arrangements, social processes, and beliefs and belief systems normally found in the group, process, activity, or situation under study.” This strategy involves gathering very detailed information from the multiple sources, and in the case of this research, policy documents, interviews and observation.

The exploratory multiple case study research has been deployed for the three reasons. Firstly, it has been considered to be an appropriate way to conduct the research on the subject that few studies have been carried before. However, why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another and what type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts are questions that still puzzle the researchers. Positivist research strategy would be inappropriate here as it would not be able to account for social phenomena happening in the local organisational setting as those are routed in the cultural and contextual factors (Fischer, 2000; Stebins, 2008; Yanow, 2007a). In addition, it would not be able to grasp the respondents' values, understandings and beliefs as it would assume that there is a single objective reality to any researched phenomenon or situation regardless of the participant's perspective or belief. Contrary to positivism, interpretive policy analysis helps accessing local knowledge and mapping of the ideas and arguments that underpin policy debates (Fischer, 2000; Yanow, 2000).

Secondly, this research explores a phenomenon that could manifest in another way in different local contexts. Therefore it was necessary to deploy multiple case studies in order to grasp the multitude of possible reasons for that in all its richness and complexity (Blatter, 2008; Yin, 2008). The chosen case studies should enhance the analytic 'generalizability' of the findings rather than statistical one (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014, p. 33) suggest that "multiple-case sampling adds confidence to findings" and allow for conclusions to be drawn about a general population on the basis of a sample.

And finally, the main research questions posed by this research involve people's interpretations and constructions of meaning which have not been previously explored. Therefore, a qualitative, exploratory methodology that involves in-depth, semi-structured interviews offers the possibility of delving into the complexity of the context (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Yanow, 2000).

Other research strategies considered

Apart from the case studies research, two other research strategies have been considered: the action research and the ethnographic research. The action research involves "fluid and overlapping cycles of investigation, action planning, piloting of new

practices, and evaluation of outcomes, incorporating at all stages the collection and analysis of data and the generation of knowledge (Somekh, 2008, p. 4).” Action research is all about the change in organisation and monitoring that change, as well as about the link between the theory and the practice (Robson, 2011). Although the researcher has been previously professionally involved in the process of devising the strategies for governance of the conservation areas in Serbia as a consultant, at the time of the beginning of this research, the researcher did not play anymore a role in the organisation that could instil the change.

Another research approach that has been considered was the ethnographic research. This research approach aims to understand and describe social and cultural setting from the insider perspective (Fetterman, 2008; Robson, 2011). At the heart of this approach is the fieldwork that could consist of various research methods and techniques, such as participant observation, interviewing or surveying. Ethnography requires the researcher to be present in the field for the considerable amount of time in order to study the phenomenon and its social and cultural context (Hymes, 2004). Although the researcher spent considerable time in the field – four study visits lasting three to four weeks –, and apart from using that time to conduct the interviews was also in the position to observe its social and cultural context and produce useful observations, still this research could not be called ethnographic as the researcher did not ask, as van Maanen (1988) puts it ‘the essential ethnographic question’: what is to be a member of the organisation? This research did not take an emic perspective (Fetterman, 2008; Robson, 2011), which is to have the insider’s or native’s perspective of reality that is at the heart of ethnographic research.

Selection of the case studies

In order to select the case studies, this research deployed the following criteria: first, the designated historic city centres should be of *the same category*, e.g. cultural property of the exceptional value, or great value; and second, the designated historic city centres should belong to *the same NUTS¹ category*, e.g. centre of the district (NUTS3), region (NUTS2) according to the scheme presented in the Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia (2010). Analysis revealed that there were not enough historic city centres of the exceptional value that fulfilled the two criteria,

¹ NUTS stands for French “Nomenclature des unités territoriales statistiques” and it represents a geocode standard for referencing the subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes of the EUROSTAT. In Serbia NUTS 1 stands for group of regions, NUTS 2 for regions, and NUTS 3 for districts.

but 5 historic city centres of great value out of 28 listed did (Table 2 and Picture 1). Those historic city centres were all in the NUTS3 category.

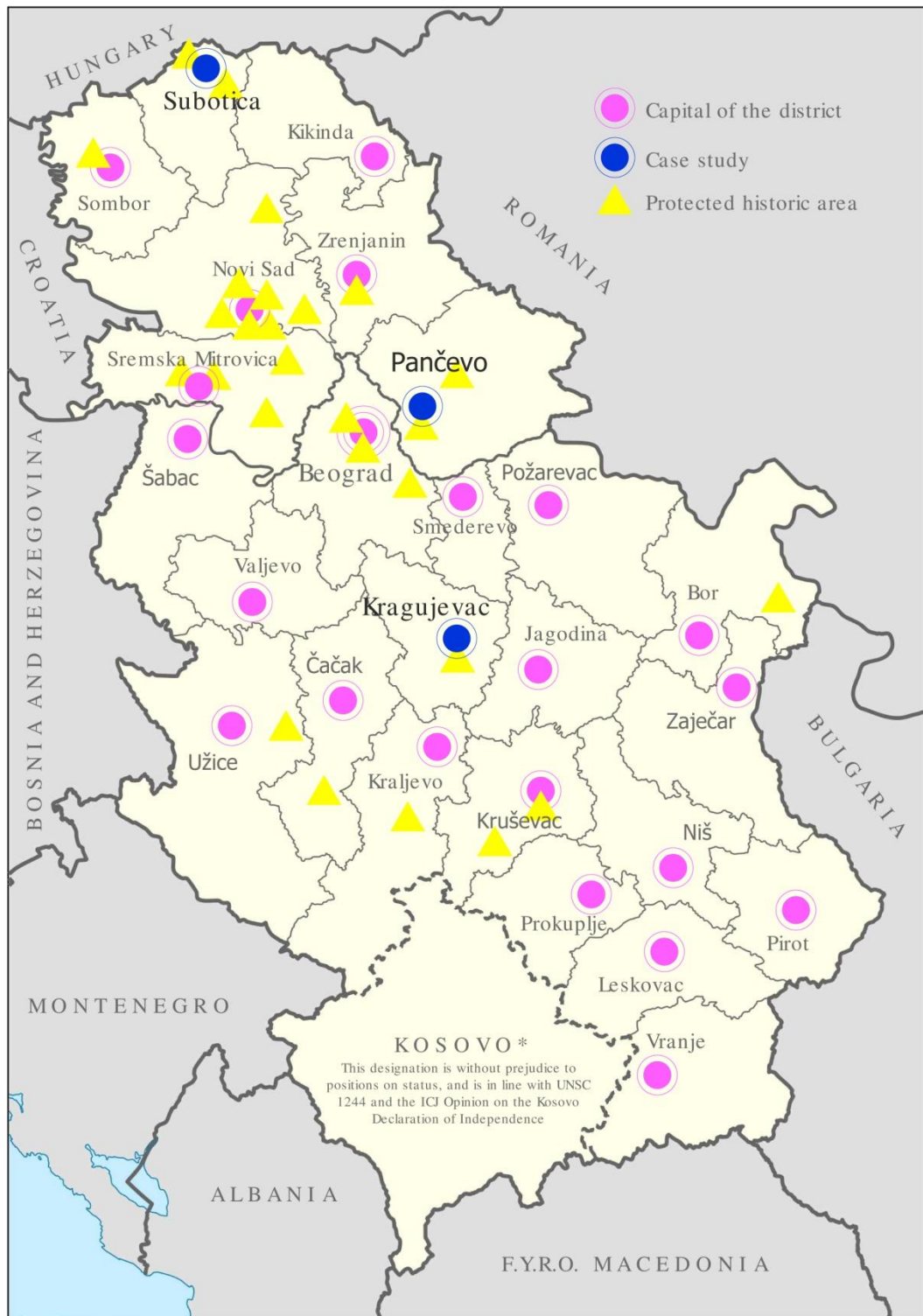
Table 2: Selection of the case studies

City	Region within the Republic of Serbia	Number of inhabitants in the city	Size of the protected area
<i>Kragujevac</i>	Central Serbia	180.796	75 ha
<i>Zrenjanin</i>	Vojvodina	135.376	45,8 ha
<i>Pančevo</i>	Vojvodina	131.938	88 ha
<i>Sombor</i>	Vojvodina	99.949	54 ha
<i>Subotica</i>	Vojvodina	152.278	80 ha

Sources: *General Urban Plan 'Kragujevac 2015'* (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2010), *General Plan of the City of Zrenjanin* (JP Direkcija za izgradnju i uređenje grada Zrenjanina, 2007), *General Urban Plan for the City of Pančevo* (JP "Direkcija za izgradnju i uređenje Pančeva" Pančevo, 2008), *General Plan of the City of Sombor* (JP "Urbanizam" Sombor, 2007), and *General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020* (JP Zavod za urbanizam Opštine Subotica, 2006)

Since five historic city centres fulfilled the two criteria for case study selection, further criteria have been introduced: first, the designated historic city centres to belong to the cities comparable by size; and second, to be situated in the different regions within Serbia (e.g. Central Serbia or Vojvodina). The first criterion has been introduced in order to ensure that chosen historic city centres are facing similar development pressures. The second criterion has been deployed to account for the historical and administrative differences that exist between the Central Serbia and Vojvodina, as for centuries Vojvodina experienced influences from the Austro-Hungarian Empire while Central Serbia have been influenced by the Ottoman Empire. It was this divide that created disparities between the North and the South in economic, cultural and historical sense. As Kragujevac has been the only case study from the Central Serbia to fulfil the criteria, the other two from Vojvodina that were chosen and that were comparable by size were Pančevo and Subotica.

The three case studies – Subotica, Pančevo and Kragujevac – denote a representative sample and offer useful variations in diversity and richness of policy issues they could convey and therefore be likely to generate rich information on governance of the historic city centres in Serbia and allow for generalisations (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). All three protected city centres are of the similar size – 75 – 88 ha – and two are situated in Vojvodina – Subotica and Pančevo – and one in Central Serbia – Kragujevac (Table 2).



Picture 1: The three selected case studies (Source: author's own map)

Interview protocol

The interview protocol's development started during the first study visit in April 2008 that also paralleled with the literature review. During that study visit the researcher contacted various potential respondents and informants – various experts and

colleagues in the then potential case studies of Pančevo and Kragujevac – aiming to establish preliminary contacts and explore the research problem. This study visit also helped the researcher to better understand local planning settings and map potential respondents, devise a set of research questions, collect other information and documents that would help understand and better the adjustment to local culture. Subotica case study has been postponed for the main data collection phase as it was more convenient for the researcher to travel to Pančevo and Kragujevac first as they were closer to one another which allowed for more flexibility in arranging interviews. During this preliminary visit the researcher did not conduct any official interviews nor it recorded any conversation; all that this visit produced were extensive field notes on various issues discussed with the potential respondents. In return, after this study visit the researcher was able to produce preliminary topics for interview questions that were then used during the pilot study.

Pilot study

The second study visit made in November 2008 served also as *the pilot study* and has been used to undertake seven semi-structured in-depth interviews with various stakeholder groups (see Table 3).

Table 3: List of respondents interviewed at the pilot stage

Institution	Position	Coding
Professionals		
Ministry of Culture, Department for International Cooperation Republic of Serbia	Head of the department	#01
KULTURKLAMMER, Belgrade (charity organisation)	Director	#06
Balkan Community Initiatives Fund, Belgrade (charity organisation)	Project manager	#07
Case-study 2: PANČEVO		
Regional Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo	Conservation officer	#19
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo	Conservation officer	#20
Case-study 3: KRAGUJEVAC		
Kragujevac Town Planning Agency	Senior planning officer	#25
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Kragujevac	Lawyer	#26

After the first study visit, the range of possible topics has been defined based on the discussions held during the first study visit (see Table 4). Those were based on what researcher noted as reoccurring topics that emerged during the initial talks with potential respondents and informants.

Table 4: The range of interview topics and issues discussed at the pilot stage

Interview topics	The range of issues discussed
<i>Governance and planning</i>	<p>The divisions of responsibility between organisations involved in planning, development and conservation of the historic city centres;</p> <p>The practice of implementation of planning, development and conservation policies;</p> <p>The main aims, goals and priority activities of planning documents;</p> <p>Established mechanisms for discussing, approving, monitoring and assessing of the on-going activities, e.g. built heritage conservation, technical surveys, preparation of the planning documents;</p> <p>The kind of development processes considered appropriate; and</p> <p>What specific concepts and terms mean for the respondents, e.g. urban planning and governance, heritage conservation and development.</p>
<i>Legislation</i>	<p>The ways built heritage conservation and urban planning have been linked by the law, e.g. management plans, approval of work by different organisations, collaboration between organisations in charge for built heritage protection and town planning;</p> <p>The legal framework in place and its sufficiency for effective integration of built heritage conservation into planning and development; and</p> <p>The redundancies and lacunae in legislation that have an adverse impact on practice.</p>
<i>Collaboration and participation</i>	<p>The range of stakeholders and sectors involved in planning, development and conservation of the historic city centres;</p> <p>Informal actors and their motivation to take part;</p> <p>Relationship between the organisations in charge for urban planning and heritage conservation and the nature and frequency of those contacts, e.g. regular collaboration and transfer of data, periodic or occasional;</p> <p>Projects implemented in collaboration with other organisations and sectors; and</p> <p>Public participation and how it has been ensured.</p>

Some of the questions and issues were omitted or amended according to the respondent's level or area of responsibility. The interviews also covered some specific projects respondent has been involved in.

Interview questions

Research questions driven by the problematisation are aiming to challenge and question approaches underlying existing literature, as well as to disrupt the established line of thinking (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013). The research presented

here challenges normative and positivist approaches to studying governance of the historic environment and offers interpretive accounts aiming to provide better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. This research embraces interpretive paradigm to question established theory because interpretivism assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities and *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings are socially constructed and co-created between the knower and the respondent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012).

Research questions seek to enhance the understanding of often complex and chaotic organisational rationality addressed by policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process. Therefore, they focus on understanding the contextual factors, such as the organisational culture, traditions and knowledge, as well as actors' own meanings and subjective understandings of governance and policy process, and they are as follows:

- *How practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia? How differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*
- *Why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another? What type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?*

In order to address those research questions the aim of interviews conducted was to hear respondents' own stories, or as Rubin and Rubin (2012) put forward, try to discover the respondent's own meanings and subjective understandings of policy process and let the respondent guide her or his interpretation of it. Patton (2002) suggests that although the interviewer should try to discover respondents' own meanings, probing for those should be left for the end of an interview so that respondent is given enough time and opportunity to better explain her or his own position before the interviewer probes her or his own understanding of it.

Agar (1996) proposes two possible approaches to get the interview started. The first one is to invite the respondents to tell their professional story where every new event or topic respondent introduces could be followed for further elaboration. The second

one is to ask respondents to recount the events and routines of their professional engagement and then asking them to further elaborate. Sometimes the best approach is to move back and forth between those two depending on what suits the respondent better. The rationale behind such an approach is to see respondents as people who have contextualised lives, embedded in tacit knowledge, social practices and local knowledge that shape their understanding of professional routines and traditions.

Forester (2012) suggests various tactics to improve lessons drawn from the practice stories and practitioners' own experiences – from how to choose a respondent, or how to conduct the interview, to how to 'write it up'. Forester proposes four central issues that interviewer should be focused on. Firstly, the researcher should make inquiries about the real projects and the challenges and complexity they entail. Secondly, inquires about the process of decision-making and how the respondent came to the course of actions she or he took. Thirdly, the focus should be on respondent-as-actor experiences, rather than respondent-as-spectator opinions. In other words, the questions should be 'how did you decide to' rather than 'how do you think they decided to'. And finally, Forester (2012, p. 15) suggests that it is most important to ask questions such as "how did you respond to ... [challenges and difficulties]", rather than "what did you think about ... [challenges and difficulties]" in order to grasp respondent's own meaning-making and avoid interpretation of the events – the respondent rationalising her or his own response and interpreting why that response happened.

Building on the aforementioned, as well as on the conclusions drawn from pilot study, researcher decided to amend interview structure to better suit the research. Firstly, *an opening topic* was introduced, where appropriate, to help establish a relationship between the interviewer and respondent, but also to start discovering respondents' own meanings and subjective understandings; that meant asking about the main characteristics of historic city centre (see Appendix 1 for an overview of interviews' questions).

The main part of the interviews has been updated with one topic as after the pilot study it became apparent that *funding patterns* could have significant influence over implementation of the projects and affect policy coordination. The other three topics – *governance and planning, legislation, and collaboration and participation* – have been left the same with smaller amendments. These topics are now treated more as interpretive concepts, open to the respondents to construe them as they find necessary, although some scrutiny have been still contained. This change happened

as a consequence of problematisation this research is making, namely it challenges normative and positivist approaches to studying governance of the historic environment by offering interpretive accounts aiming to provide better understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Actors' opinions on particular issues are not always fixed and could be temporary and changing as their experiences, knowledge or organisational setting change (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013). Therefore, governance as practice is not a fixed concept, and apart from depending on policy actors own meanings and subjective understandings, it depends on contextual factors such as culture, traditions or tacit knowledge. Also, policy actors' understandings on what is their role within the organisation, relationships with the colleagues and other organisations depends on their perceived organisational identity (Dutton, Duckerich, & Harquail, 1994).

As a follow-up and a closing topic, the researcher would probe a respondent's understanding of what different theoretical concepts and terminology mean if they emerged during the interview, such as, but not limited to concepts of heritage, development, conservation or planning.

The data collection

Studying organisations is about understanding the social world they inhabit, exploring the attitudes, behaviours and experiences of policy actors, and grasping the documents, texts, meanings, beliefs and facts they produce (Stablein, 1999). Interpretive analysis as a research approach strongly depends on research methods chosen, and in this case it includes the close reading of policy documents, in-depth semi-structured interviewing and making observations. All three interpretive methods are very useful for assessing local knowledge, traditions and cultures. Yanow (2000; 2007b) suggests that these methods generate data that could be typically classified as *acts* (practices and activities of the policy actors), *language* (what is written or said about policy issues) and *policy-relevant objects or physical artefacts* (physical display of implemented projects and policies, such as revitalised area in the historic city centre). The data collection process started with the collection of policy and legal documents, followed by the conduct of in-depth semi-structured interviews and writing of the field notes.

Document analysis

In 1967 in their seminal book *'The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research'* Glaser and Strauss argued that as a part of sociological investigation documents should be regarded as "the anthropologist's informant or a sociologist's interviewee (p. 163)." The role of documents is usually a twofold. On one hand they receptacle the content, on the other they serve as active agents in policy process (Prior, 2008). Also, documents are not static or pre-defined artefacts. Prior (2003) stresses that documents are embodiment of their respective policy fields, frames and networks of action and that they can be defined in terms of its creators, users and settings which make them 'situated' as they are produced in a social setting and as a result of collective action. All data are representation, and policy documents are the representations of complex organisational and policy realities actors are facing in an organisational field (Owen, 2014; Prior, 2008).

The first step in the analysis was to identify key policy documents. This research uses two types of documents. Firstly, legal and sublegal documents are used in the parent theory to establish context of the study. Secondly, various planning documents and studies (for the complete list see Table 5) to provide background for understanding both national context of spatial planning and heritage conservation as well as local contexts in the three chosen case-studies. In the analysis of case studies, planning documents function as key research source providing primary data for understanding governance issues historic city centres are facing.

Table 5: The list of policy documents analysed

The Republic of Serbia	2010 Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2011 Implementation Program of the Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia 2009 Study on the Permitted Development, Maintenance and Use of Designated Cultural Properties and Cultural Properties Enjoying Prior Protection
Subotica	2008 Subotica Spatial Development Plan 2006 General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020 2010 Detailed Regulation Plans for Subotica City Centre – Zone I 2011 Detailed Regulation Plans for Subotica City Centre – Zone III
Pančevo	2009 Spatial Development Plan of the Municipality of Pančevo 2008 General Urban Plan for the City of Pančevo 2009 Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo 2010-2015
Kragujevac	2009 Spatial Development Plan of the City of Kragujevac 2010 General Urban Plan Kragujevac 2015

Interviews

The data collection process started with the preliminary definition of interview topics and questions and the choice of organisations and respondents, followed by the pilot study conducted in October 2008 and comprising of 7 in-depth interviews. As is usual with case studies, multiple sources of evidence were incorporated into the case study database (Blatter, 2008; Stebins, 2008; Yin, 2008). The data collection includes the use of publicly available documents for first impressions, followed by interviews that were the primary source of information about the projects and policy network events (Bogason & Zolner, 2007). After the preliminary data analysis the interview topics and questions were updated in order to match issues and topics that emerged during the pilot study (see Appendix 1: An overview of the interview questions).

The main data collection was carried out in February and October 2009, November 2010, and February 2011 that with the interviews conducted at the pilot study stage totalled in 31 interviews (see Appendix 2: List of the respondents) and forming altogether 28 hours and 38 minutes of recordings. Respondents included 9 interviews conducted in Subotica, 8 in Pančevo and 7 in Kragujevac, as well as 7 interviews with various other professionals who provided the insights about the context in which governance of the historic city centres in Serbia takes place. Visits to the case studies' cities and interviews with the different stakeholders contributed to the mapping of the process of policy formation and implementation, the emergence of success and failure narratives, their internal structure, and the performance that turned them into standard narrative (Stablein, 1999; Charmaz, 2006).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been chosen to allow a greater degree of flexibility and freedom in the direction to both address issues identified through the analysis of policy documents, and to allow the researcher to further explore any important issues that might emerge during the interview (Charmaz, 2006; Blatter, 2008; Stebins, 2008). In terms of identifying an appropriate respondents' sample, the researcher used both her knowledge of the field and relied on respondents to identify the key policy actors and organisations involved in this particular policy network. All the respondents gave their personal consent to be interviewed, and they were guaranteed personal anonymity, with the understanding that the organizations will be

identified. In the standard statement of participant consent each respondent was asked to confirm that she or he:

- have been briefed about this research project and its purpose;
- understand that she/he may withdraw from the project at any stage;
- have discussed any requirement for anonymity or confidentiality with the researcher; and
- agree to being audio taped during the interview.

Given that the respondent's position within organisation would be made public by this research, the standard statement of participant consent offered also a section on specific requirements for anonymity or confidentiality. However, none of the respondents opted to use it.

The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and an hour and a half, with about two thirds of the time spent focusing on the interview questions and the remaining third on the topics emerging during the interview. All the interviews have been audio recorded and transcribed for analysis (for the excerpts from the interviews see Appendix 4).

Field notes

Taking field notes "assist the researcher in making conceptual leaps from raw data to those abstractions that explain research phenomena in the context in which it is examined" (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008, p. 68). There are three kinds of field notes: *methodological*, *descriptive* and *analytic notes* (Bernard, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Kuntz, 2012). This research made use of all three of them.

Methodological notes are the "statement[s] that reflect an operational act completed or planned: an instruction to oneself, a reminder, a critique of one's own tactics" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 101). They were crucial during the first field visit and pilot study as they helped improve the interview protocol and the technique of collecting data. As noted by Bernard (2006, p. 396) they are the researcher's tool to grow "as an instrument of data collection." Beginning of the data collection is a critical period when the researcher familiarises and become more comfortable with respondents' cultural norms and setting. These kinds of field notes here helped the

researcher conduct of field inquiry. Often those were observations on the researcher herself and upon the methodological process itself.

The second type of the field notes taken were the *descriptive notes*. After every interview conducted the researcher took notes that included but were not limited to personal reflections on the content of the interview, respondent attitudes during the research, descriptions of the social, cultural and organisational setting in which respondent work, context in which the interviews took place, unstructured observations, pursue the meanings, respondent's attitudes during the interview, researcher's personal reflections on the issues discussed or just making sure the researcher did not forget some important insights that emerged during the interview. Writing the descriptive memos provided an opportunity for the researcher to think about any additional data that would be helpful to collect or respondents to interview in order to tell 'the whole story.'

Analytical notes in this research are used to make sense of the data by mapping of the emerging patterns which marked the beginning of data analysis. These notes were made in the latter stage of the data collection – during the third and fourth study visit. Patton (2002, p. 453) emphasises that the processes of inductive analysis is based on "discovering patterns, themes, and categories in one's data," while in deductive analysis analytic categories are stipulated beforehand "according to an existing framework." In general, analytic notes here were the beginning of the data analysis and interpretation as they are used to make sense of the data collected. As van der Waal (2009, p. 35) asserts they allow "different parts of the body of information to come together and to lead to a range of insights, while still in the field." Writing analytic notes is an important aspect of effective qualitative data analysis and it could help immensely in writing the results.

Data analysis

The analysis of data collected includes coding and devising the themes as main interpretive categories and interpreting the data. Coding here denotes "the process of generating ideas and concepts from raw data such as interview transcripts, field notes, archival materials, reports, newspaper articles, and art" (Benaquisto, 2008, p. 85). Coding has been deployed in order to uncover the events of the interest for the

research, such as policy issues, behaviours, meanings and understandings of the policy actors.

The coding process consists of the three stages: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Benaquisto, 2008; Charmaz, 2006; Robson, 2011). *Open coding* is the initial stage of the coding process. This process begins with the collection of the raw data and its organisation. Here, the raw data consists of the interview transcripts, policy documents and memos and observations that researcher produced during the field visits. The analysis has been assisted by the MaxQDA software that significantly shortened the time involved in conducting the analysis. During this initial stage, the researcher did line-by-line reading of the data in order to identify as many ideas and concepts as possible. Simultaneously, the main research questions have been also used in looking for the information concealed in the data. During the open coding stage, the data collected during the pilot study produced over 60 independent codes.

The next stage was the *axial coding*, the process of relating the initial codes among themselves in order to create the themes (themes have been explained in detail in the next section). It is the phase where concepts and categories begin to be refined and relationships between them evident. This research has produced eight analytic categories that have been further grouped in four themes.

The last phase of the analysis is the *selective coding*. This phase aims to ensure that all the analytic categories have been adequately covered and it continues until all the theoretical categories are saturated (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical saturation occurs when “gathering new data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveal new properties of these core theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113).”

Assessing quality of the interpretive inquiry

Interpretive paradigm assumes *relativist ontology* based on the existence of multiple realities, *subjectivist epistemology* where understandings are socially constructed and co-created between the knower and the respondent, and a set of *naturalistic methodological procedures* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Scotland, 2012; Mack, 2010). Therefore, the usual positivist and post-positivist criteria for evaluation such as the internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity could not be applied. Although in the literature heightened efforts to formulate criteria for

judging quality of the interpretive inquiry could be identified, still the ones proposed show that there was a little consensus among scholars on what those should be. Building on Schwartz-Shea (2014) this research suggests that criteria for judging quality of the interpretive research should include: *trustworthiness*, *reflexivity*, *'thick description'*, and *intertextuality and intersubjectivity*.

Trustworthiness

Introduced by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the term 'trustworthiness' as a criterion was first used to indicate that all the research must have '*truth value*', *applicability*, *consistency*, and *neutrality* in order to be considered worthwhile. As a tool for assessment, trustworthiness is about reliability and validity (Becker & Bryman, 2004; Spicker, 2006; Golafshani, 2003). Also, it facilitates an overall assessment of quality, and allows others to judge its quality and build on its findings. Schwartz-Shea (2014, p. 131) emphasises that trustworthy research "needs to be seen as meriting the reader's confidence." In other words, trustworthy research should ensure that it is conducted purposely, transparently and in accord with ethical guidelines allowing revisability of the findings by other scholars (Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Schwartz-Shea, 2014; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

Trustworthiness of the findings presented here is assessed in three ways (Becker & Bryman, 2004; Bryman, 2008; Spicker, 2006). First, *validity of the source* is based on the principle that respondents interviewed are the key actors and the people who are knowledgeable about the issues asked and in position to speak about the practice of governance. Respondents approached and asked to be interviewed are all the key actors from the three case studies. In addition, any new insight was followed through and new respondents were approached for an interview if necessary. All documents analysed are the official policy documents in direct relation to the three cases studies and national strategies for protection of the historic environment.

Second, *the external cross-confirmation* refers to grounding findings in the literature whereby a variety of data sources, different investigators and theoretical perspectives and methods are pitted against one another to cross-check data and interpretations (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

And third, *the internal cross-confirmation* is based on the evidences confirming a common perception or a common experience of several interviewees (Becker &

Bryman, 2004). That is, establishing corroboration or coherence in every data interpreted against all others to be certain to prevent internal conflicts or contradictions in presented findings (Patton, 2002; Bryman, 2008). Particular data may be in conflict because they come from different sources or represent different perspectives, but researcher ought to be able to make an interpretation that takes into account these contradictions, contending explanations and negative or deviant cases (Guba, 1981).

Reflexivity

Achieving a complete objectivity about the social world is not possible because the researchers themselves are part of that world (Denscombe, 2010). To increase the quality of interpretive research it is necessary for the researcher to evaluate subjective elements that influence data selection, collection and interpretation. Smith (1998, p. 7) asserts that “social science has to wrestle with the problem of human beings creating explanations about themselves and their society when they are part and parcel of that society.” Commonly accepted positivists standards for assessing research are limited in their applicability in interpretive research (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). This careful interpretation and reflection is called *reflexivity*.

Wilkinson (1988, p. 493) defines reflexivity as “thoughtful and disciplined self-reflection”, while Finlay (2002, p. 531) asserts that reflexive researcher should be engaged into “continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself.” Nevertheless, the most comprehensive definition has been offered by Schwartz-Shea (2014, p. 133) where reflexivity has been explained as “a keen awareness of, and theorizing about, the role of the self in all phases of the research process.” Numerous scholars have contributed to proposing the criteria for judging quality of the interpretive research. Based on different methodologies proposed by Finley (2012), Mauthner and Doucet (2003) and Schwartz-Shea (2014) reflexivity of this research would be assessed by looking through following lenses: *ontological, epistemological and methodological reflexivity, contextual-discursive reflexivity, and positionality and the self*.

Ontological, epistemological and methodological reflexivity implies critical reflection and draws on the awareness that “*how* knowledge is acquired, organized, and interpreted is relevant to *what* the claims are” (Altheide & Johnson, 1994, p. 486). The relativist ontology that assumes the existence of multiple realities and subjectivist

epistemology where the knower and the respondent co-create understandings in this research provides the basis for interpretation of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Conceiving respondents and their accounts in relativist terms drew the attention of this research to aspects that have been under-researched and mostly overlooked by previous research. Those aspects are related to recognising the importance of social context, as well as personal understandings, beliefs and meanings that contribute to practice of urban governance, and therefore allowed this research to make original contribution to the respective research area. Mauthner and Doucet (2003) assert that the researcher and the researched reflexively construct between themselves the subject consequently altering its meaning.

Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003, p. 11) assert that interpretive approaches are aimed “at uncovering culturally situated meanings of human behaviour.” In this particular case interpretive research tradition has several advantages to offer. Firstly, it is suited for exploring complex, multifaceted, chaotic but interrelated social processes, such as interorganisational coordination in the process of governance of the historic city centres. Secondly, interpretivism is helpful for theory building when no sufficient body of knowledge has been produced yet, or in case of under-researched areas. Thirdly, it is suitable for studying particular cases and events that are context-specific. And finally, interpretive research tradition can help expose other interesting and pertinent research problems and issues for future research.

Contextual-discursive reflexivity looks at the situational and sociocultural elements and takes into consideration the social context and world of shared meanings. Interpretivism emphasizes that there is an intentional and contingent nature of action which applies both to the researchers and the social setting they study (Bevir, 2011b; Gubrium & Holstein, 2012). Those contingences revolve around the *whats* and *hows* of the interview process. Interviews are the product of co-conducted reality developed between the researcher and the respondent and are contagious of ‘pre-notions’, e.i. the pre-existing ideas or prejudices (Durkheim, 1982). The *whats* centres on contingent nature of the researcher previous knowledge and understanding of the research topic, as well as the salient circumstances implicated in the interview process. These circumstances constitute the interview context. The *hows* develop within narratives of an ongoing interview interaction which is not incidental but directed towards certain topics by both the researcher and the respondent. The researcher follows interview protocol and therefore actively influences the direction interview takes, while the respondent ‘construct’ responses and reflexively modify the

interview as it unfolds. Both *whats* and *hows* of the interview process and their implications are taken into account through writing of the descriptive field notes.

Positionality and the self in relation to reflexivity is "an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process" (Robson, 2011, p. 22). From an interpretive perspective, the researcher and the subject of inquiry are not separate from one another which poses the question of how to maintain optimal distance. The issues related to *positionality* range from the ways researcher enters the field and negotiate through the interview, how the researcher's self may provoke respondent's reaction, to the partiality of view researcher may bring (Schwartz-Shea, 2014; Shehata, 2014). Reflexivity also refers to looking at the process, outcomes and context of research and the construction of theory (Finlay, 2012). The key point is asking the questions like what I am trying to do, why am I conducting the interview this way, and how my approach of conducting the interview is affecting the research, all of which is achieved through the field notes.

Interpretive researcher should take into an account the issue of researcher bias and self-reflexivity as well, as those contribute to a lack of distance between the self and the issues studies (Angen, 2000; Heshusius, 1994). However, Silverman (1993, p. 248) suggests that the researcher has a particular role of informing subjectivity, and that is "the emergence of the self as a proper object of narration" (p. 248). Yet, there is no simple solution for how to go about the issues of subjectivity in the interpretive research, but it is important to keep reflexivity in the perspective.

'Thick description'

Term 'thick description' has been coined by British philosopher Gilbert Ryle in 1971 and then borrowed by Clifford Geertz in 1973 in his seminal work *'Thick Description: Toward Interpretive Theory of Culture'*. Geertz (1973) originally uses the term to describe ethnographic writing, but now 'thick description' has been used as a standard to judge the quality of interpretive research (Schwartz-Shea, 2014; Ponterotte, 2006). For Shenton (2004) 'thick description' refers to achieving detailed and credible description in order to convey actual events under investigation and the contexts they are embedded in. It is not enough for researcher to simply report on those events; it is necessary to provide useful insights into the context that surround them and illustrate it with interviews' narratives that explain them in order to enable the reader to

determine the extent to which the overall findings are 'true' and gain an insights into the actual situations. Schwartz-Shea (2014) emphasises that the term 'thick description' conveys the evidentiary data that capture context-specific nuances, such as the events, settings, persons' lived experiences and interactions as described by the policy actors themselves. Although, such evidentiary data are commonly used in ethnography it could be extended to other methods such as historical or document analysis as they provide details about the setting and could inform the researcher's interpretation of the events (Geertz, 1973; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Yanow, 2000).

Intertextuality and intersubjectivity

Intertextuality as a term was coined by Julia Kristeva in 1966 in her essay *Word, Dialogue and Novel*. Yet, she first used it with reference to what Bakhtin calls the dialogic aspect of language, which "foregrounds class, ideological and other conflicts, divisions and hierarchies within society" (Allen, 2000, p. 21). Now, intertextuality is considered to be a basic principle of interpretation and it is "based on possessing critical knowledge of other key texts" (Shank, 2008, p. 468). Porter (1986) emphasises that its main role centres on intertextual relations among various systems of codes. Early proponents of this view included Roland Barthes in cultural analysis and Claude Lévi-Strauss in anthropology. In interpretive research, intertextuality refers to interpretive understanding of collated data such as policy stories, documents, events, or the failure of it (Haberer, 2007; Schwartz-Shea, 2014). Mapping of the intertextual elements is important for interpretive research as it identifies the patterns and links between meaning making within the communities of practice and discourse coalitions.

Similarly, intersubjectivity refers to shared understanding. In other words, given that all reality and interpretations are socially constructed – which is at the core of interpretive paradigm –, we share our understanding with others and that points to mutual intelligibility (Anderson, 2008). This notion is of particular importance for the study of social interactions and discursive practices within complex social systems because it helps reveal analytic positions participants share with others (Carspecken, 2008; Anderson, 2008). Intersubjectivity draws on philosophical notion of subjectivity where knowing and understanding is taken not to be an individual endeavour but rather socially situated, and where knowing is reflection of one's experiences, biases, and is mediated through social interactions. Yet, not all our knowing and understanding is shared with others, as social and cultural contexts in which communicative events

take place are also affected by individuals' personal traits and ways of meaning-making (Choi, 2007a).

Themes and analytic categories

Governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, as in any other welfare sector, is gradually going through changes as a part of modernisation agendas and need for recast of the planning system to improve policy coordination, both horizontally and vertically across policy domains, actors and scales (DiGaetano & Strom, 2003; Nadin, 2007; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Those changes include management of the cross-cutting issues that transcend the established boundaries of policy sectors and often they do not correspond to accepted sectoral responsibilities.

In order to bring about conceptual clarity and help systematise the analysis of data, the researcher established eight analytic categories that are then grouped in four analytic themes (see Table 6; for their more detail description see Appendix 3). Analytic categories in interpretive research are intransitive (van Manen, 1990); they point at certain aspects and features of the process as those were represented in narratives analysed. Analytic categories also describe different aspects of lived experiences as those are being interpreted by policy actors and disclose the meanings assigned by them. Themes and analytic categories used here represent a sort of interpretive framework established to ease data interpretation and presentation.

Table 6: Cross-cutting themes and analytic categories for interviews' analysis

Themes	Analytic categories
THEME 1: POLICIES AND IDEAS	
<i>Analytic category 1:</i> <i>Formulation of the policy problems and policy solutions</i>	Policy problems Policy solutions Distribution of authority Distribution of resources
<i>Analytic category 2:</i> <i>Ideas, theoretical concepts and approaches</i>	Theoretical concepts Skills and knowledge Organisational learning Ideas
THEME 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS	
<i>Analytic category 3:</i>	Commitment, backing and leadership

<i>Political factors</i>	Professional ideologies, intentions and interests Political tradition, administrative culture Organisational power, strategic position, prestige, authority
<i>Analytic category 4:</i> <i>Distribution of the financial means</i>	Allocation of budgets Availability of resources Costs vs. benefits Needs vs. available resources
THEME 3: MANAGEMENT, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS	
<i>Analytic category 5:</i> <i>Process, management and instrumental factors</i>	Communication and collaboration Networks Leadership and implementation Management mechanisms in place
<i>Analytic category 6:</i> <i>Behavioural, cultural and personal factors</i>	Levels of trust between actors & sectors Personal input and initiatives Attitudes towards collaboration Historical relationship among actors Shared framework of understanding
THEME 4: BUREAUCRACY, INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND LEGISLATION	
<i>Analytic category 7:</i> <i>Institutional and organisational setting</i>	Bureaucracy Procedures Institutional mandates and roles Institutional and organisational structure
<i>Analytic category 8:</i> <i>Interpretation, limitation and application of the legislation</i>	Policy congruence Policy incoherence Policy redundancy Policy lacunae

Theme 1: Ideas and policies

The way how we talk or write about policy issues matters because it reflects how we frame and understand its meanings (Waterton, 2010; Yanow, 2000). This theme explores the range of ideas associated with the relationship between planning and conservation, as well as other ideas that underpin or contradict that relationship. This research has identified three different levels of ideas that are relevant to understanding governance of the historic city centres in Serbia: *problem definitions, policy solutions and other ideas, theoretical concepts and approaches* including *skills, knowledge and organisational learning*.

Policy problems, as Mehta (2011) suggests, refer to a particular way of understanding the reality of policy process. The way policy problems are framed has direct implications on the way policy solutions are going to be formulated (Hajer, 1993; Yanow, 2000). They provide valuable frameworks within which policies are developed and specific issues considered or marginalised. Policy problems are also sometimes

deliberately defined in ways that permit an issue to land in particular parts of an institutional apparatus. But, they also could guide policy choices and unify different actors under the policy problem leading to the creation of discourse coalitions (Hajer, 2003). The main questions asked are: how the key policy issues are defined, and is the nature of policy problems and solutions social, moral, economic, or political.

Policy solutions refer to a range of acceptable solutions to institutional problems, as well as the particular ways in which the resolution of an issue or a problem should be constructed, including the use of appropriate or available institutional practices, technologies and strategies (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Waterton, 2010). Who has the legitimacy to explain the causes and solutions of any particular policy problem?

Planning rationality is reflected in how planning actors interpret the subject of planning through planning documents. Tett and Wolfe (1991) and Maccullum and Hopkins (2011) refer to planning documents as both the key tool for planners and the key discursive framework. Following Maccullum and Hopkins (2011), this research focuses also on three key aspects of that rationality: claims about the role of the plan, how plans connect and interpret relationships between phenomena and the kind of information considered important by the author of the plan. Planning documents also reflect on how *the authority and resources* has been distributed as they focus on representation of power, rights and responsibilities, and look at the roles various actors have in planning (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Prior, 2003).

Concerning *ideas and theoretical concepts*, this research looks at the understanding of the theoretical concepts, such as sustainable development, cultural heritage, heritage values, or heritage development, as well as any other ideas that are of the importance for the respondents. Mapping variety of meanings different ideas and theoretical concepts could hold for policy actors is important because it helps trace how those affect the policy-making process or produce conflicting frames of understanding (Cambell & Pedersen, 2011; Wincott, 2011). However that is not the only reason; the way how meanings are organised to form knowledge that support ideas and theoretical concepts affects how policy ideas are created and disseminated among policy actors.

Organisational learning, skills and knowledge are all closely related to social learning and policy learning (Fischer & Mandell, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Organisational learning usually refers to the process of generating, accumulating and applying knowledge acquired outside and within the organisation in order to improve

organisational performance or competitiveness (Cunliffe, 2008, p. 110). The process of acquiring new skills and knowledge involves learning from “new information, ideas, and perspectives [...], challenging existing beliefs and opening up new opportunities for policy change” (Hertin, et al., 2009). Organisational learning is important as it allows organisation to adapt and learn from experience.

Theme 2: Political and financial factors

Policy coordination is very much dependent on *political commitment* and *ability to provide backing and leadership*. Political actors who are able to ensure right partners to pursue cross-cutting objectives are more likely to succeed in their actions (Challis, et al., 1988; Kickert & Koopenjan, 1997; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Capacity for collaborative, joint ventures coupled with trust amongst partners could provide more influence over the policy outcome and implementation, but it could rarely come without the loss of the degree of autonomy (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009). In contrast, departmentalised institutional setting – where rules, procedures and job descriptions are the norm –, creates barriers for policy coordination as the change is difficult to inflict through horizontal coordination (Brooks, 2009). In such institutional setting, group of senior managers controls the coordination of the activities. Similarly, the research found that policy coordination can be affected if there are misbalances and differences in *organisational power, strategic position and authority* among the organisations (Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Challis et al. (1988) suggested that it can result in spending energy and resources on ‘domain defence’ and it can create an unequal position amongst policy actors. Furthermore, *professional interests, ideology and interests* could affect the way policy problems are framed, what issues are prioritized over others, and power relations (Versteeg & Hajer, 2010). They could be dependent on local political culture and traditions (Fischer, 2000).

The *distribution of financial means* could have major bearings on policy coordination, as policy coordination and working with the cross-cutting policy issues could include considerable costs for the sectors involved (Stead & Meijers, 2009). What complicate the process further is that funding is not allocated to establish the procedures for cross-cutting policy issues, but to sectors and their sectoral objectives. Not only could the *allocations of budgets* complicate the process of policy coordination but *availability of resources* too. Resources’ availability for the policy coordination could create imbalances, such as the ones between *costs and benefits* of the policy coordination

(Cabinet Office, 2000; Huxham, 1996), or *needs and resources available* (Cabinet Office, 2000; Halpert, 1982).

Theme 3: Management, cultural and personal factors

Process of policy coordination benefits to great extent from having adequate *communication and collaboration* channels established across sectors and organisations (Peters, 1998; Stead & Meijers, 2009). That is established through different policy mechanisms in place or could rest predominately on individuals and local culture supportive of collaborative work, as well as *good historical relationships* already established among policy actors. Alter and Hage (1993) define collaboration in relation to programs, resources and information present in the policy arena. Gray (1989, p. 5) uses the term collaboration to define a “process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible.” Considering that process of policy coordination involves various policy actors working together, *implementation* becomes increasingly important and so is *leadership* in order to ensure implementation of the cross-cutting policies (OECD, 1996; Stead & Meijers, 2009).

The process of policy coordination may also benefit from the *mechanisms in place* to anticipate, detect and resolve policy conflicts early in the process (Stead & Meijers, 2009). Such mechanisms might exist within the *policy networks*, that could be defined as a form of steering aimed at solving joint problems or policy development (Kickert & Koopenjan, 1997). Furthermore, the relationship between the organisations, as well as, between organisations and individuals – for instance, existing *levels of trust*, *shared understandings of policy problems* or *openness for collaboration* –, could act as barriers or opportunities for policy coordination (Kickert & Koopenjan, 1997; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Stead and Meijers (2009) assert that when *shared understanding of policy issues* is absent, it opens the doors for professional defensiveness or approaches that are too specialist.

Theme 4: Bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation

Bureaucratisation and fragmentation of government could result in contradictory regulations and mandates and could impose structural barriers to coordination (Alter & Hage, 1993; Brooks, 2009). Bureaucratisation furthermore can hamper

communication across the sector and institutions (Peters, 1998; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Fragmentation often is a consequence of the need for specialisation and control over the policy fields, which brings stricter *institutional mandates, roles and boundaries*. Halpert (1982) asserts that similarities in *institutional and organisational structures*, as well as in *procedures* in place could facilitate policy coordination. This theme is in particular concerned about how staff navigates in an institutional terrain in relation to power relations, hierarchy, previously established ways of dealing with the issues and channels of communication and collaboration.

Another important factor for policy coordination relates to legislation. Peters (1998) suggests that policy coordination might fail if more than one organisation perform the same task (*policy redundancy*), when no organisation is in charge (*policy lacunae*), or when more organisations perform the same task but have different goals (*policy incoherence*). *Policy coherence* might be difficult to achieve if policy agenda is frequently changing, but it is necessary to achieve effective governance.

Evaluation of the themes and analytic categories

Following presentation of the themes and analytic categories, this section evaluate and validate them against previous empirical studies of policy coordination in urban governance in order to add credibility to this research and to search for potential contributions to knowledge. This will be achieved by comparing themes and analytical categories established by this research with the implications for policy coordination revealed in the literature review on urban governance and policy coordination (Table 1).

Table 7: The review of previous research on policy coordination in spatial planning and its comparison with the analytic categories identified by this research

Themes and analytic categories	Previous research on policy coordination
THEME 1: POLICIES AND IDEAS	
<i>Analytic category 1: Formulation of the policy problems and policy solutions</i>	
Policy problems	Proliferation of ideas during preparation stage could change an overall goal(s) of coordination (P) Fuzzy roles and responsibilities hamper implementation – distribution of authority (I) Economic interests trigger policy coordination – distribution of resources (N)
Policy solutions	
Distribution of authority	
Distribution of resources	
<i>Analytic category 2: Ideas, theoretical concepts and approaches</i>	
Theoretical concepts	Understanding of theoretical concepts (e.g. sustainable development) affect coordination process (I) Similarities in how policy actors understand theoretical concepts helps policy coordination (A, D, K, M)
Skills and knowledge	
Organisational learning	
Ideas	

	<p>Previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours and build capacity for coordination of projects in future – organisational learning (G)</p> <p>Conflict could either act as an enhancer or a barrier to coordination; conflicts in the early stages play a key role in ensuring that involved actors depart from traditional world views, role perceptions and practices (O)</p>
THEME 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS	
<i>Analytic category 3: Political factors</i>	
Commitment, backing and leadership	Government reshuffle generates tensions (C)
Professional ideologies, intentions and interests	Political interests could challenge and limit policy coordination (C)
Political tradition, administrative culture	Power struggles have transformative potential and could enable policy coordination (C)
Organisational power, strategic position, prestige, authority	Political leadership is of crucial importance (F)
	Political interests could be a trigger for boundary-spanning (N)
	Technocratic tradition conflicts with market-centred policy coordination (P)
<i>Analytic category 4: Distribution of the financial means</i>	
Allocation of budgets	Available funding opportunities (A, H)
Availability of resources	Benefits versus costs as an external trigger for policy coordination (J)
Costs vs. benefits	
Needs vs. available resources	
THEME 3: MANAGEMENT, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS	
<i>Analytic category 5: Process, management and instrumental factors</i>	
Communication and collaboration	Complex partnership structures hamper coordination in terms of power, political legitimacy, leverage and resource dependencies (I)
Networks	Strong multipurpose networks composed of various partners could ensure effective policy coordination (F, K) and strengthen trust among participants (D)
Leadership and implementation	The ideas move rather horizontally through the networks than being handed down through hierarchy (Q)
Management mechanisms in practice	Interorganisational leadership and steering helps policy coordination, both horizontally and vertically (J, M, N)
	Existing organisational and personal ties are critical for establishing formal and informal collaborative partnerships (J, O)
	Networks reflect structures of power and hierarchies (F)
	Organisations need administrative capacity to put policies into effect (M)
<i>Analytic category 6: Behavioural, cultural and personal factors</i>	
Levels of trust between actors & sectors	Levels of trust between the actors in a policy process (B)
Personal input and initiatives	Willingness to commit to a joint venture (P)
Attitudes towards joint endeavours	Previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours, build trust, shared understanding and capacity for coordination of projects in future (G)
Historical relationship among actors	Professionalization (departmentalism) constrains boundary-spanning (H)
Shared framework of understanding	Effective coordination is based on shared understandings, consensus over policy direction and similarities in organisational culture and institutional histories (A, D, G, K, M, Q)

Differences in approach, overlapping agendas, fuzzy roles and confused patterns of responsibility (I, K)	
THEME 4: BUREAUCRACY, INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND LEGISLATION	
<i>Analytic category 7: Institutional and organisational setting</i>	
Bureaucracy	Structural fragmentation and departmentalisation (B) is a
Procedures	result of professionalization and autonomy (L), regulatory
Institutional mandates and roles	changes (Q) or staff being overloaded and required to think 'outside the box' (M)
Institutional and organisational structure	Difficulties in horizontal-vertical policy coordination (E, Q)
	Complex organisational structure results in fuzzy mandates, shared responsibilities and ineffective decision-making, steering and monitoring (D, E)
	Differences in departmental rules and regulations make cross-boundary coordination difficult (H) while successful boundary-spanning creates structural infrastructure in place for future projects (G)
	Centralisation hampers attempts at self-governance (B), leads to fragmentation (G) and limits space for dialogue (L, Q)
	Flexible legal and institutional structures support coordination (J)
	Differences in planning time-scales between the departments affect coordination (Q)
	Divisions between conflicting sides are rather being institutionalised than consensus sought (O)
<i>Analytic category 8: Interpretation, limitation and application of the legislation</i>	
Policy congruence	Legal provisions for joint working improve conditions for policy
Policy incoherence	coordination (A, N)
Policy redundancy	
Policy lacunae	
Sources: A (Caffyn & Dahlstrom, 2005); B (Guarneros-Meza, 2008); C (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003); D (John & Cole, 1998); E (Koppenjan, Kars, & van der Voort, 2009); F (Le Gales, 2001); G (Margerum, 2002); H (Mawson & Hall, 2000); I (Pearce & Ayres, 2007); J (Rayle & Zegras, 2013); K (Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011); L (Sager, 2004); M (Schäfer, 2005); N (Schout & Jordan, 2007); O (Sørensen, 2014); P (Tornberg, 2012); Q (Vigar, 2009)	

As the results presented in the Table 7 shown, the comparison revealed that there is a major aligning between the implications for policy coordination found in the 17 reviewed empirical studies and the themes and analytic categories produced by this research. That is particularly the case with the last three themes and analytic categories they consist of. However, the review of empirical studies has revealed that research on the role of ideas in policy coordination in urban governance was insufficient. Although the role of ideas has been a topic of many studies in planning theory, in policy coordination, in particular, it remained fragmented and scarce. Therefore, by applying argumentative policy analysis that is particularly well suited for investigating actors' interpretations of policy process and identifying conflicting frames of understanding that could undermine policy coordination process, this research has a potential to arrive at important insights. In this light, argumentative policy analysis as a method can be seen as a structured way of investigating how ideas and discourses

are transmitted across the policy field, experienced, given meaning and translated into action by policy actors. This is of particular importance in relation to the second original contribution this research aims to make, namely to advance the knowledge about the tensions between conservation and planning in terms of conflicting frames of understanding.

Concerning the analytic categories, there are similarities with the work of Stead and Meijers (2009) who conducted the research on spatial planning and policy integration and assembled a range of materials from different disciplines in order to identify the key inhibitors and facilitators of policy integration. They came up with five sets of factors, namely, (1) political factors, (2) institutional/organisational factors, (3) economic/financial factors, (4) process, management and instrumental factors, and (5) behavioural, personal and cultural factors. Those factors display high aligning with the analytic categories 3-7 developed here. Although there are numerous similarities with the analytic framework developed by Stead and Meijers, still this research adds by further developing the theory of interrelatedness of ideas and policy coordination.

Conclusions

This Chapter has shown the relevance and advantages of applying argumentative policy analysis to study complex and chaotic reality addressed by the policy actors (Bevir, 2011b; Scott, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). It achieved this, in part, by evaluating the potential application of a group of different approaches that share the emphasis on language and communication and that could be subsumed under the approach called the argumentative policy analysis – interpretive policy analysis, frame analysis and discourse analysis. It demonstrated that interpretive research is well suited for theory construction where there is no prior theory or it is insufficient (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Roe, 1994), and that it is particularly well suited for investigating actors' interpretations of policy process and identifying conflicting frames of understanding that could undermine policy coordination process (Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012). Reflecting on these advantages, the argumentative policy analysis was chosen as it would represent the most appropriate methodological grounding for this research. The research strategy – exploratory multiple case studies – is chosen to maximise the discovery of generalisations based on different understandings of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia (Blatter, 2008; Stebins, 2008; Yin, 2008). In order to bring about conceptual clarity and

help systematise the analysis of data, this research used eight analytic categories grouped into four themes. Analytic categories and themes pointed at certain aspects and features of governance process as they described different aspects of lived experiences as those are being interpreted by policy actors, and disclosed the meanings assigned by them (van Manen, 1990).

Before presenting the findings of the three case studies, the following part – *Contextualising the case studies* – will act as a parent theory and will examine how both town planning and heritage conservation systems evolved in Serbia and which factors affected them. It will explore the changes in the Serbian town planning and heritage conservation legislation and practices as they related to the political, socio-economic and institutional contexts and reflected societal processes and dynamics.

PART 2: Contextualising the case studies

CHAPTER 3: Serbian spatial planning practice in context

Introduction

With increasing internationalization of spatial planning after the Second World War, and especially from 1960s and 1970s on, planning ideas and practices proliferated in many countries. Although those ideas and practices have been 'exported' from a few, and imported by many countries, as argued by Nedović-Budović and Cavić (2006), the social embedding and their contextual nature resulted in many region- and culture-specific variations.

This Chapter attempts to enhance understanding of how spatial planning and governance in Serbia evolved, starting with the post Second World War Yugoslavia, and to investigate the ways in which urban problems have been constructed. It also explores the changes in spatial planning legislation and practice as they relate to the political, socio-economic and institutional context and reflect societal processes and dynamics. In doing so, it describes the major changes in legislation from the Second World War to present and how they brought about changes in practice. Finally, it reflects on the key themes in contemporary debates about the spatial planning and how those influence the policy shifts.

The changing governance context in Yugoslavia

After the Second World War, socialist Yugoslavia as a country inherited disparities between its northern and southern regions. For centuries northern regions experienced influences from the Austro-Hungarian Empire while southern and eastern areas of Yugoslavia have been influenced by the Ottoman Empire. It was exactly this divide that created disparities between the North and the South in Yugoslavia in economic, cultural and historical sense (see Table 8) (Pleskovic & Dolenc, 1982;

Milanovic, 1987). Rapid industrialisation that came to Slovenia, Croatia and Vojvodina laid down the foundations of the industrial development. Other regions, with a few exceptions, didn't manage to improve between the two World Wars and remained an economic development backwater.

Table 8: Percentage shares of the GDP by regions in former Yugoslavia

Region	GDP (in %)				
	1947	1960	1970	1980	1990
Developed regions	76.6	78.3	78.1	78.1	78.6
Croatia	25.0	26.8	26.8	26.3	25.8
Serbia *	26.2	25.2	24.7	24.6	25.7
Slovenia	14.9	15.5	16.3	16.8	16.3
Vojvodina	10.5	10.8	10.3	10.4	10.8
Less developed regions	23.4	21.7	21.9	21.9	21.4
Bosnia-Herzegovina	13.8	13.4	12.3	12.2	12.6
Kosovo	2.3	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.8
Macedonia	5.1	4.8	5.6	5.8	5.2
Montenegro	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.9	1.8
Yugoslavia	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Central Serbia (without its provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina)

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Yugoslavia for the respective years

After the Second World War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia resumed absolute power, breaking up with the parliamentary tradition under the Karađorđević Monarchy. That strongly influenced the development of Yugoslavia (1945-1991) introducing a rapid development of the social and economic institutions, as well as parallel processes of decentralisation and devolution (Bratlett, 1975; Milanovic, 1987). Those changes presented as a series of waves, each resulting in a substantial changes in the ways how central and local governance operate.

The post-war reconstruction and institutional stabilisation

The period of post-war reconstruction and institutional stabilisation (1945 – 1953) was characterised, under the strong influence of the Soviet Union, by a rigid and centralised economic planning focused on post-war reconstruction of the country (Milanovic, 1987; Pogačnik, 1987; Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011). That reconstruction was primarily focused on the industrial production, electrical supply systems, housing, power plants and agriculture. After the Second World War, the newly-formed government limited the maximum of privately-owned land to 10

hectares while the larger estates were nationalised (The Standing Conference of Towns, Yugoslavia, 1980). With the 1946 Constitution and the 1946 Expropriation Act, a new measure was introduced to ensure that private ownership of urban land was not an obstacle for the redevelopment of the country, namely the expropriation (1947-1958). This measure was extensively used particularly for the construction of the new factories, power plants, roads and other important facilities for the country (Pogačnik, 1987).



Picture 2: The former Yugoslavia (Author: Department of Public Information Cartographic Section, United Nations)

Although in the years immediately after the Second World War Yugoslavia as a communist country became a member of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), in 1948 Yugoslavia stepped out from that international organisation (Estrin, 1991; Milanovic, 1987). Political relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union remained suspended until 1956 when Cominform was dissolved (after Stalin's death), but these relations continued to be tense. In 1956 Yugoslavia started the Non-Aligned Movement, the international organisation consisted of the countries that did not belong to either East or West block.

The institutional decentralisation and market socialism

A period of institutional decentralisation and market socialism started with the reforms in 1952 aiming to shift from central planning to a decentralised, market model (Denitch, 1973; Estrin, 1991). These measures were formalised in the 1953 Constitutional Law of Yugoslavia and they included price liberalisation, exposure to the international trade and replacement of the direct vertical-command planning by direct horizontal relations through a regulated market. Still, Federal level of Government retained a control over economic and political power mostly exercised through the General Investment Fund set up in 1954 (Andelman, 1980; Milanovic, 1987). Market socialism – often called ‘liberal’ or ‘soft’ socialism – was an economic system “in which enterprises are publicly owned but production and consumption are guided by market forces rather than by government planning” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2013). Market socialism reduced the role of central planning and increased the role of the market. It was developed as a compromise between socialist planning and liberal economy as it compensated for the deficiencies of the central planning as the decisions were made at the local level, but still kept most of the economic resources in the hands of the State (Elson, 1988; Kardelj, 1980; Shleifer & Vishny, 1994).

The self-management system

The self-management system in Yugoslavia was formally introduced with the Organisation of *Communes Act* passed in 1955. Although the idea of self-management had no roots in the previous political system in Yugoslavia, workers’ participation and control were concepts known in the socialist tradition and were developed during the uprising against occupation in the Second World War (Denitch, 1973). The idea of self-management was developed by Edvard Kardelj and presented to the Parliament on 16 June 1955 (Denitch, 1973; Kardelj, 1980; Simmie, 1989; Stojanović, 1981). The main idea was to strengthen the role of municipalities by developing a self-managed Commune. Commune’s will have a significant role in the coordination of the Municipality, providing the most needed political and administrative assistance, control over implementation of the laws, direct economic activity and development of productive forces, securing citizens’ rights to self-organization. The self-management system was to be based on the principle that each decision ought to be made at that particular level at which interests, development goals, as well as implementation can best and most fully be understood (Stojanović, 1981). This in fact

implied a system of multilevel governance (Denitch, 1973) that was subsequently developed in 1960s and 1970s.

In 1958, the second wave of development started with the nationalisation of urban land (The Standing Conference of Towns, Yugoslavia, 1980). This measure was introduced to ensure long-term development of towns and cities. As the enterprises were already a part of the self-management system, and urban land became a property of the Commune after it was nationalised, planned construction within the towns and cities in Yugoslavia could proceed. Nationalisation took place in 197 towns in Serbia and 860 in Yugoslavia and lasted until 1967 (The Standing Conference of Towns, Yugoslavia, 1980). The nationalisation was an important measure that ensured the transfer of the urban land from private to social ownership that was in the essence of the concept of self-management. Also, this marked the departure from urban land being privately owned to urban land becoming a public property which was made possible by the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963.

The 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia formalised decentralisation of political power, self-management and social ownership. The Constitution of Yugoslavia also ensured the withdrawal of direct government interference in the economy (Milanovic, 1987). This was translated into practice by transferring government investment funds to the governmental banks which were free to invest their funds. *The Economic Reform* introduced in 1965 broadened market mechanisms at the micro level. The Constitution also permitted private ownership of small and medium enterprises which resulted in one third of the Yugoslav GDP being generated by the private sector in the late 1980s (Hadžić, 2002).

Political reforms formalised in the 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia shifted some legislative powers from the level of Federation to the Republics. As the result, the Republics had a right to adopt their own laws in accordance with the general laws adopted at the Federal level.

[...] Republics adopt their laws in accordance with the general principles of the basic law, and shall harmonise them with the subsequently enacted basic laws. The basic laws do not apply directly (The 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia, Article 120).

Although most of the powers were already transferred from the Federation to the Republics that did not happen with the Federal savings that remained centralised. As a response to that, a political movement called 'The Croatian Spring' or MASPOK was active in 1970-71. They advocated greater autonomy of the Republic of Croatia within Yugoslavia, as well as that private and corporate savings generated in the Republic should remain within that Republic, and not to be invested elsewhere (Dawisha & Parrott, 1997; Levi, 2007). MASPOK opposed centralisation of the savings at the Federal level and was in favour of a free movement of capital. Supporters of the MASPOK thought that centralisation of the savings at the federal level was draining weaker regions in favour of the more powerful regions in Yugoslavia where most of the banks were situated (Levi, 2007; Milanovic, 1987). According to this view, banks displayed a tendency to invest mostly within their own regions therefore using the scarce resources of one region to create employment in another. Proponents of this view thought that banks were not free of local political interference. MASPOK was greatly criticised because they advocated a complete correspondence between the region where capital is coming from and its utilisation which indeed represents a political interference with the banks' decisions to invest. Although these ideas found its strongest expression in Croatia, they were espoused also in the less developed regions such as Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dawisha & Parrott, 1997; Milanovic, 1987).

The localism and devolution agenda

The 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia brought significant changes in power distribution within the Yugoslavia. The six Republics and the two Autonomous Provinces – Kosovo and Vojvodina – became responsible for planning of their own economic development as well as the means to implement it. The main aim of this change was to transfer more powers to the local communities, as well as to encourage people to take an active role in their communities. Still, the critics felt that that was not sufficient to ensure greater investments flow within the Republics as self-management proved to be an obstacle (Milanovic, 1987).

In accordance with self-management principles introduced in the 1963 Constitution, the 1974 Constitution introduced the concept of the *Basic Organisations of the Associated Labour* (BOAL).

Basic Organization of Associated Labour is a basic form of associated work in which workers directly and equally exercise their socio-economic and other self-

*management rights and decide on matters affecting their socio-economic status.
(Constitution of Yugoslavia, 1974, Article 14)*

Article 14 of the 1974 Constitutions further guaranteed the right of every worker in the BOAL to:

Jointly and equally with other workers controls the operations of the Basic Organization of Associated Labour, its activities and resources, to regulate relations in the work, decide on the income derived from the various forms of associated labour and to acquire personal income. (Constitution of Yugoslavia, 1974, Article 14)

As a result, all enterprises in Yugoslavia got the status of the BOAL based on workers' self-management which meant that the decisions about the management of the enterprise had to be made by workers themselves. Investors were therefore very reluctant to invest as BOALs could overturn investors' decisions as they were not obliged to strictly follow the agreement (Milanovic, 1987).

The 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia gave to the two Autonomous Provinces of Serbia, Vojvodina and Kosovo, an independence from the central Serbian government, and both of them had a seat in the Federal Parliament, along with 6 constituent Republics. In reality, their status was almost equivalent with the one of Republics. In late 1987 and in 1988, a populist campaign in Serbia started pointing out that such a situation was untenable, and that the political elites in the Autonomous Provinces were led by bureaucrats that were alienating from the people (Blackwell Reference Online, 2012; Dawisha & Parrott, 1997; Kearns, 1999). This so called '*Anti-bureaucratic Revolution*' (1988-1989) was a nationalist, populist social movement in Serbia that saw the rise of Slobodan Milošević to political power. Abolition of the political autonomy in two Serbian provinces in 1989, and the removal of the political cadres in Montenegro, sharpened the latent political and socio-economic crisis, leading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia's socialist institutional framework.

Spatial planning before 1971

The beginnings of town planning in Yugoslavia are usually placed in the early 1930s and the adoption of *the Construction Ordinance* of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1931 (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). This law represents the first normative act

that regulated construction of the cities and towns. Although the Act itself was very advanced for that time, planning was in a very rudimentary form, within the limits of design and construction regulations.

In the contemporary meaning of the word, town planning in Yugoslavia emerged after the Second World War, when the idea of long-term planning of the cities and towns became an integral part of the general societal planning under communism (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006; Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011; Pogačnik, 1987; Hirt, 2009; Đorđević & Dabović, 2009). Despite the break up with the Cominform and Stalinism in 1948, the Yugoslav regime adhered to the communist ideology, which ensured that town planning worked within a fundamentally different paradigm from the one at the Western Europe (Hirt, 2009; Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). Urban land and production in Yugoslavia were put under social ownership during the 1950s and 1960s while the State took the role of primary urban developer.

During the first period after the Second World War (late 1940s – early 1960s) Yugoslavia's goal was to rebuild the war-damaged country – restore the economy, rebuild cities and their infrastructure, provide new housing (Hirt, 2009; Pogačnik, 1987). The first planning policy the new Yugoslav regime adopted was the *Basic Regulation of the City Development Plan* in 1949 (see Table 9: Contextualising the spatial planning in Yugoslavia). This Regulation delineated the objectives of town planning as supporting socio-economic development that complies with a socialist institutional framework (Marinović-Uzelac, 1989; Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). However, this regulation lacked the components of physical planning such as land use and zoning that will be introduced later, but outlined a strictly hierarchical system of planning – from the federal level, through the level of the Republics to the municipal level – where each level had to strictly follow the five-year National Economic Plan. In reality, the essential purpose of the town planning during this period was to translate the National Economic Plan into spatial terms at the local level. Although this regulation adhered to the communist ideology, the drafting and adoption of the regulation followed the examination of Western European town planning legislation, in countries such as Holland, France, Germany, England and Sweden (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006).

There were two key ideologically-motivated policy shifts in the mid-1950s that influenced the direction of town planning legislation in Yugoslavia. Firstly, the departure from the centralised institutional and political system followed by the institutional decentralisation (1953 Constitutional Law of Yugoslavia), and secondly,

the introduction of the self-management and social ownership (1955 Organisation of Communes Act) together with the expropriation of the land (1947-1958) in order to allow major construction work and land development.

Table 9: Contextualising the spatial planning in Yugoslavia before 1971

Period	Characteristics of the period	Spatial planning legislation
1946 –1963 Consolidation of the socialism	1946 <i>Constitution</i> (introduction of socialism as an official ideology in Yugoslavia; single-party system; social ownership)	1931 <i>Construction Law</i> is still in force 1949 <i>the Basic Regulation of the City Development Plan</i>
	Post-war reconstruction; major works on country's infrastructure	1947-52 the first <i>5-year Plan</i> (Central-command economy, centralised urban planning through Urban Planning Bureau of Yugoslavia; the instruments of spatial planning are enacted through the centralised economic Planning Commission, nationalisation and Federal Investment Funds)
	1953 <i>Constitutional Law of Yugoslavia</i> (the beginnings of institutional decentralisation)	
	1955 <i>The Organisation of Communes Act</i> (introduction of the self-management system)	
	1957 <i>Sixth Conference of the Association of Urban Planners of Yugoslavia</i> (spatial planning as an academic discipline; the turn to comprehensive planning; socio-economic planning is the main goal of spatial planning)	1961 <i>Urban and Regional Spatial Planning Act</i> (departure from the centralised, State administered planning system; nationalisation of the land for the construction)
1963 – 1974 Decentralisation	1963 <i>Constitution</i> (decentralisation; power transferred to the Republics)	1965 <i>Urban and Regional Spatial Planning Act</i> (enables Yugoslav republics to adopt their own planning legislation)
	Strengthening of the government at the republics' level	1967 <i>Resolution about the Basics of the Urban Politics in the Republic of Serbia</i>
		1971 <i>the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering</i> (introduce the decentralised approach to planning; comprehensive planning; socio-economic development is the main goal)

Unlike town planners from the Eastern European block, Yugoslav town planners continued to take part in the international events such as Le Corbusier's CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) since its founding in 1928 (Hirt, 2009; Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). During the first decade of the post-war period Le Corbusier's idea of the *functional city* was accepted by the Yugoslav town planners as an alternative to what they saw as 'bourgeois' architecture and urbanism. Town planning principles were promoted through standardisation, proper city size, the vital role of the city centre and the neighbourhood unit (local community) concept, while spatial and societal planning was based on the principle of egalitarianism which resulted in planned decentralisation of industry to the underdeveloped regions (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). In the support of the thesis that Yugoslav architects and town planners continued to be active internationally, there is the fact that CIAM's 10th Congress was actually held in Dubrovnik (Croatia) in 1956. It was exactly those links with the town planners from the Western Europe that had a great influence on the Yugoslav post-war planning laws which were written after extensive consultations with the Western town planning experts (Hirt, 2009; Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006).

The seminal event for Yugoslav town planning was *the Sixth Conference of the Association of Urban Planners of Yugoslavia*, held in Serbia in 1957. The town planners from all Yugoslav Republics attended this conference advocating that town planning should be introduced as a new academic discipline. Also, the delegates agreed that physical planning should become a part of the socio-economic planning system, opening the doors to integrative and comprehensive planning in Yugoslavia (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). In order to support those decisions, in 1957 the Yugoslav Institute for Town Planning and Housing (formerly the State Institute for Communal and Housing Affairs) was formed, in 1958 the Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia (IAUS), and in 1962 Serbian Institute for Urbanism and Communal Affairs. The same trend was followed in the other Yugoslav republics.

By the early 1960s spatial planning had moved away from centralised planning and never returned to it (Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004). That opened the doors for the integration of the physical and socio-economic planning within the system of the self-management and social ownership. The second generation of planning legislation (early 1960s – 1974) marks the beginning of 'the golden era' of spatial planning in Yugoslavia (Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011) that lasted until the late 1980s. This period saw intensive work on preparation of planning documents at all levels, rapid urbanisation, developments in housing, and the growth

of small and medium industry (Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011; Pogačnik, 1987). The *Urban and Regional Spatial Planning Act* from 1961 marked the departure from the centralised, State-centred planning system, and introduced nationalisation of the land for the construction. Although decentralisation was the idea that guided changes in urban politics in Yugoslavia during this period, and the main rights in spatial planning were transferred from the federal level to the Republics, planning documents were still formulated at the Yugoslav Institute for Town Planning and Housing (federal level) and did not involve public participation (Hirt, 2009; Pogačnik, 1987).

The 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia institutionalised the decentralisation of power, transferring the rights to the Republics to formulate their own laws in accordance with the laws at the federal level. During this period, new planning legislation has passed in all six Yugoslav republics, including sublegal documents to help practice, such as guidelines and manuals. Changes in legislation were also followed by institutional changes to accommodate the hierarchy of planning documents in relation to territorial units. In 1965, the Republic of Serbia adopted *Urban and Regional Spatial Planning Act*, and in 1967 adopted *Resolution on the basics of urban politics in Socialist Republic of Serbia* (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004).

Comprehensive spatial planning in Yugoslavia

The landmark moment for the Yugoslav town planning legislation was *the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering* passed by the State Parliament in 1971 that introduced an *integrated, comprehensive town planning model*. Prior to its adoption, apart from being discussed in the Parliaments of the six Yugoslav Republics, it was also discussed in 154 towns and cities and numerous regional and international events (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). The innovation this policy introduced was that town planning became an interdisciplinary, holistic approach that brought together all the important sectors and stakeholders involved in the town planning process. Sectors, as well as stakeholders, rather than in isolation, for the first time were involved in participatory, 'bottom-up' regional and local planning process. The already institutionalised self-management system in Yugoslavia contributed to the success of this planning approach that took into consideration its end-users. The main aims of the comprehensive integrated planning in Yugoslavia were to ensure that planning

decisions were made at the level where they matter, that the integration of societal, economic and spatial planning is ensured through 'cross-acceptance' model, that horizontal and vertical coordination was ensured and that spatial planning entails collaboration of all stakeholders and sectors. Cullingworth (1997) and Nedović-Budić et al. (2011) suggest that the principle of 'cross-acceptance' through inter-sectoral collaboration in the town planning process has been put in practice in Yugoslavia for more than a decade before it was applied across the Western countries.

Table 10: Contextualising the spatial planning in Yugoslavia 1971-2000

Period	The main characteristics of the period	The main characteristics of the town planning legislation
1974 – 1991 Localism and devolution agenda		1971 <i>the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering</i> (introduce the decentralised approach to planning; comprehensive planning; socio-economic development is the main goal)
	1974 <i>Constitution</i> followed by constitutions of the Republics and Autonomous Regions Kosovo and Vojvodina (devolution of power; strengthening of the local level governance - Commune)	1974 <i>Planning and Spatial Management Act</i>
	Hyper-production of planning documents at all levels; all Republics adopted their Spatial Development Plans quickly except Serbia where this was initiated in 1967, finished in 1993 and adopted in 1996.	1985 <i>Planning and Spatial Management Act</i> (further decentralisation of planning)
	In 1988 Central Cadastral Registry has been formed 1989 introduction of the multi-party system	1989 <i>Planning and Spatial Management Act</i> (no significant changes from the 1985 Act except that adoption of the Spatial Plan of Serbia is now a requirement)
1990s Centralisation of power	1990 <i>Constitution of Serbia</i> 1992 <i>Constitution of SR Yugoslavia</i> (Serbia and Montenegro)	1995 <i>Planning and Spatial Management Act</i>
	Centralisation of power during Slobodan Milošević's regime 1991 Disintegration of Yugoslavia 1991-1995 Civil war	

Adoption of the new Yugoslav Constitution in 1974 was immediately followed by the adoption of the regional and town planning legislation in all six Yugoslav Republics. Serbia adopted *Spatial Planning and Management Act* in 1974 (see Table 10) where all relevant components of socio-economic, environmental and physical development were considered (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006; Đorđević & Dabović, 2009). This Act also established a *hierarchy of planning documents* that corresponded with the territorial units, starting from the Republic, regional, municipal to the city plan (General Urban Plan of Master Plan), including also the Special Area Plans and Detailed Urban Plans (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006; Simmie, 1989). Town planning was based on the principles of decentralised self-management and participation through delegation. Simmie (1989, p. 285) suggests that such a system of town planning “*swings the balance of decision making in favour of democracy*” but in practice the move was away from efficacy, because decision making process took a long time and there were no guaranties that decisions were going to be implemented. In addition, the system of delegation that was in place did not guarantee that real public interests were represented.

Yugoslav town planners were not only active in developing planning legislation. During 1970s the whole system of research institutes and local agencies across Yugoslavia was developed, professional associations were founded, and a generation of experts got educated both locally and abroad (mostly in Western Europe and the USA). Such a professional milieu stimulated advances in planning theory, methods and practice, and a more overt critique and planning discussions (Đorđević & Dabović, 2009; Hirt, 2009; Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006).

The period from 1974 through 1980, was characterised by a proliferation of planning documents at all levels (Đorđević & Dabović, 2009; Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011). In 1985, the Serbian Parliament adopted the *Spatial Planning and Management Act*. This Act emerged as a reflection of the socio-economic, institutional and political context of those times and contributed to further decentralisation of town planning. As a consequence of the ‘cross-acceptance’ principle that has been practiced in Yugoslav town planning, the process of the adoption of planning documents was accompanied by the discussions both among the professionals and with the general public, bringing decision-making down to the level of local communities. Despite such a widespread network of institutions and developed town planning methodology, implementation mechanisms were underdeveloped (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011; Pleskovic & Dolenc, 1982; Pogačnik, 1987). In 1989 Serbia Parliament adopted *Planning and Spatial Management Act*, but no

significant changes were made (in comparison to the 1985 Act) except that the Spatial Plan of Serbia now became a compulsory planning document.

The break-up of Yugoslavia and centralisation of power

Political and institutional context in Serbia in the 1990s

At the end of 1980s Yugoslavia was still a single-party country based on the self-management system, but substantially decentralised unlike countries of the Eastern Block. It had mixed private and social ownership over land and means of production, and a relatively liberalised market economy due to the experimentation with quasi-capitalist reforms since 1960s. Moreover, Yugoslavia's political connections with the West were thriving. Hirt (2009) suggested that Yugoslavia was at this time in a position to, in a short period of time, implement the transition towards democracy and a free-market economy. And indeed, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, Slovenia managed to do so. What happened in 1990s in Serbia was exactly the opposite, as the country slid into a brutal war.

In 1991, the war started in Croatia. By the end of 1991 it had also engulfed Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia was disintegrating. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia all declared the independency in 1991 while Serbia and Montenegro remained members of Yugoslavia. The hyperinflation of 1993–1994 devastated the Serbian economy and by the mid-1990s Slobodan Milošević, president of the Serbian Socialist Party that was in power during the 1990s, had managed to centralise his power.

Milošević's authoritarian regime opposed any decentralisation of political power, and that was especially the case after the Local Elections in 1996 when opposition won in Belgrade and some other major Serbian cities (Petrović, 2009). Nevertheless, a process of centralisation started with the *Constitution of the Republic of Serbia* in 1990. Social ownership became the ownership of the Republic of Serbia but there was no differentiation between the levels, Municipality, City, Province or the State (Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, 1990, Article 60). Autonomous provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo lost the right to adopt their own laws, a right that - from that point on – was only available to the Republic of Serbia. The 1995 *Law on State-owned Properties* transferred all the properties owned by the Republic of Serbia into

State ownership. By this, Cities, Municipalities and Provinces lost their right to decide on the management of the land and properties within their territory. The 1999 *Local Government Act* further asserted the centralisation of power by declining the right of the local governments in Serbia to keep any income from the taxes collected within their territory. All the taxes collected at the territory of the Republic of Serbia were transferred directly to the Budget and then allocated to the local governments. This measure was enacted in order to intimidate citizens into voting Milošević's Socialist Party at the Local Elections in 2000 and therefore ensure uninterrupted funding for their local government.

The 1990s in Serbia saw three waves of privatisations as well. One of the first to be privatised was public housing. In 1990, Yugoslavia had much smaller proportion of public housing than Eastern European countries – 22% of all households in Yugoslavia, and 24.2% in the Republic of Serbia – and by 1994, 98% of all housing in Serbia were in private ownership (Petrović, 2001). Privatisation in Serbia mainly implied the abolishment of social ownership through determination of the ownership rights (Zelić, 2005). In the 1990 privatisation, in former Yugoslavia, the employees were allowed to buy firms they were working in. In 1991, Serbia adopted its own *Privatisation Act* setting up stricter rules under which an employee could obtain the shares. Unfortunately, the hyperinflation during 1992-3 dramatically decreased real cost of the shares, so privatisation accelerated and many buyers gained the shares cheaply. With the monetary stabilisation in 1994, the pace of privatisation was reduced. In order to induce privatisation, the 1997 Law on Privatisation allowed 60% of the shares to be distributed to the current and former employees for free, while the remaining 40% were offered on the stock market (Lazić & Sekelj, 1997; Lazović & Cvjetičanin, 2001). Under this Law, nearly 800 enterprises were privatised until 2001, and many of them were known to be the most successful companies in Serbia.

In 1998, sporadic conflicts between Milošević's regime and the supporters of Kosovo independence developed into an ongoing armed conflict which led to the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999. Those events lead to collapse of Milošević's regime in 2000.

Spatial planning in the 1990s

In 1990s Serbian spatial planning system took a retrograde step back to centralised control of planning and development. In 1995 the *Planning and Spatial Management*

Act (Zakon o planiranju i uređenju prostora i naselja) was passed in the Yugoslav Parliament. This Act deprived regional and local levels of their powers, and shifted the responsibilities for the socio-economic, spatial and environmental planning to the level of the Republics (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004). The federal government was in charge of overall socio-economic policy and spatial development policy. Public participation was limited to 30 days public review of the draft planning documents, while all plans had to be approved by the Planning Commission of the Republic of Serbia. In 1995 Serbian Parliament adopted *the Land-use Act* and *Law on Assets in the Ownership of the Republic of Serbia* by which all socially owned land and properties became owned by the State. The *Local Government Act* in 1999 further deprived the local level of the autonomy to make decisions in relation to its financial management. As a result, planning activities significantly decreased, as the spatial planning profession entered a major crisis (Đorđević & Dabović, 2009; Hirt, 2009; Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004).

The post-2000 consolidation: a break with the past

The institutional and political consolidation

The first democratically upheld elections in November 2000 marked the end of Milošević's regime as the political coalition called the DOS (Democratic Opposition in Serbia), with the Democratic Party as its main coalition member, winning the elections. Newly elected Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić and his Cabinet faced many challenges, both the political and socio-economic ones (see Table 11).

The major priorities of the new government were threefold (Praščević, 2008; Uvalić, 2010). Firstly, *the macroeconomic stabilisation*, in terms of enabling the economic recovery, lowering unemployment, annulling external imbalances, and attracting direct foreign investments. Secondly, *undertaking the systemic reforms* that would bring a radical break up with the past regime through the reform of enterprises, markets and trade, financial sectors and the renewal of infrastructure. And finally, *the European integrations*, but conditionality imposed by the European Parliament that included full collaboration with the Hague Tribunal hindered the realisation of the third priority. Still, some financial assistance from EU funds was available to support legal harmonisation. Although socialist legacy and many years of isolation impeded the

progress of the reforms, the rich experience accumulated during several decades of intense contacts and collaboration with the West proved to be an advantage compared to the countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Uvalić (2010) asserts that those contacts were especially strong in business sector, but commercial banks, government institutions and individuals had strong contacts as well.

Table 11: The major political events in Serbia since 2000

Governments	Major political events
	<i>Parliamentary elections</i> (24 September 2000)
<i>The first government</i> (Zoran Đinđić, PM) 25 January 2001 – 3 March 2004	FR Yugoslavia has been transformed into the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (4 February 2003) Assassination of the Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić (12 March 2003) <i>Parliamentary elections</i> (28 December 2003)
<i>The second government</i> (Vojislav Koštunica, PM) 3 March 2004 – 16 May 2007	Montenegro declares its independence after the referendum (June 2006) 2006 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (30 September 2006) Government crisis (November 2006) <i>Parliamentary elections</i> (21 January 2007)
<i>The third government</i> (Vojislav Koštunica, PM) 16 May 2007 – 25 June 2008	Conflict between the Prime Minister and the government (December 2007) <i>Parliamentary elections</i> (11 May 2008)
<i>The forth government</i> (Mirko Cvetković, PM) 25 June 2008 – 28 June 2012	Serbia signs the SAA and the Interim Agreement on trade and trade-related issues with the EU (29 April 2008) European Commission approve the SAA (1 March 2012) <i>Parliamentary elections</i> (6 May 2012)
<i>The fifth government</i> (Ivica Dačić, PM) 28 June 2012 – 26 April 2014	EU candidacy confirmed (20 December 2013) Opening of the EU negotiations (21 January 2014)
<i>The forth government</i> (Aleksandar Vučić, MP) 27 April – up to now	Opening of the first Chapters in the EU negotiations

Sources: Compiled on the basis of information found at the Website of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia (<http://www.parlament.gov.rs/national-assembly.467.html>), and in Uvalić (2010) and Prašević (2008)

The inherited legacies strongly shaped the first period after the 2000 Parliamentary elections, hampering more rapid economic reforms in SR Yugoslavia and Serbia. The

new government inherited a system that has produced many obstacles to systemic changes, such as the behaviour in non-privatised business sector – monopoly and lack of transparency –, huge bureaucratic apparatus, insufficient judiciary system, but perhaps even more importantly, workers' mentality and reluctance to accept that the days of self-management are over (Uvalić, 2010; Zelić, 2005).

The 2001 Privatisation Act (Zakon o privatizaciji, 2001) chose sales of a majority stake to strategic buyers as a privatisation method. Uvalić (2010) suggested that this method proved to be successful in Hungary and Estonia, while in other Central and Eastern European countries, due to the low purchasing power of potential local buyers, other, less convenient methods of privatisation has been used. This method has been recommended by the World Bank experts (World Bank, 2000) as well, but in practice, it proved to be ineffective and to create many problems. The main problem was that considering the overall economic condition in Serbia in 2001, not many businessmen would have necessary financial means for such purchase. Unfortunately, those who engaged in purchasing shares were the 'new rich', individuals who gained their wealth often in an illegal, war-related activities in the 1990s (Zelić, 2005; Uvalić, 2010).

In 2005, Serbia started the negotiation about the EU integrations but only in April 2008 finally signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), in March 2012 became the EU candidate country and in January 2014 opened the EU accession negotiations. Although, the signing of the SAA officially marked the beginning of the process of legislative harmonisation with the EU, Serbia initiated many of the necessary changes shortly after the 2000 elections. The European Commission's "Serbia 2012 Progress Report" identified 24 Chapters out of 34 in the negotiation process that are near completion and closing (European Commission, 2012). Still, further progress in Serbia's EU integrations was conditioned of taking steps towards a visible and sustainable improvement of relations with Kosovo.

The New Localism Agenda

Land-use planning in Serbia has been undergoing significant change since the year 2000. In particular, much has been made to devolve power to the local level and to reintroduce Municipal and City planning as the major units of planning. Driven by the evolving forms of neoliberal spatial governance, spatial planning in Serbia favoured competitiveness, the new forms of partnerships and networks, and the promotion of

the local level as the level where the interventions take place. Still, inherited problems had to be dealt first.

In the year 2000 the new government inherited very complicated, incoherent and often contradictory legislation in the field of spatial planning, building and construction, land-use planning, and rural planning in Serbia (Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004). There were over 300 legal and sub-legal documents regulating this complex field ranging from laws and regulations, to guidelines and rules. Because of this, investors had to spend a considerable amount of time collecting all necessary permits to start construction works. At the same time, as Stojkov (2007) suggests, the Republic of Serbia was facing a multitude of problems that had to be dealt with, such as the problem of unequal regional development, the lack of territorial cohesion, and the declining economic competitiveness of the country.

Table 12: Contextualising the spatial planning in Serbia after the 2000

Period	The main characteristics of the period	The main characteristics of the town planning legislation
2000s The 'new localism' agenda	5 October 2000 the collapse of Slobodan Milošević's regime	2003 <i>Planning and Construction Act</i> (harmonisation with the European norms; focuses on sustainable development; establishment of the Agency for Spatial Planning of the Republic of Serbia)
	2003 proliferation of Spatial Plans at all levels; Serbia starts a process of harmonisation of its legislation with EU norms	
	2006 Serbia becomes an independent country after referendum in Montenegro	2006 <i>Planning and Construction Act</i>
	2006 <i>Constitution of the Republic of Serbia</i>	2009 <i>Planning and Construction Act</i> (all building and construction permits are now part of so called 'building permit')
		2011 <i>Planning and Construction Act</i>

In 2003, the Serbian Parliament adopted *Planning and Construction Act* (Zakon o planiranju i izgradnji) aiming to replace *Planning and Spatial Management Act* (Zakon o planiranju i uređenju prostora), *Construction Act* (Zakon o izgradnji) and *Land Use Act* (Zakon o građevinskom zemljištu) by one legal document. Harmonisation with the European standards of planning and simplification of the procedures were the main features of this Act (Čolić, 2009; Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011; Stojkov, 2007; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004). This Act aimed at correcting problems inherited from the 1990s, primarily to deal with the unauthorised

construction works, revert centralisation of decision-making process in the development of planning documents, and shorten the time needed for obtaining building permits. This Act was influenced by French planning law, and it was aiming at introducing the principles of sustainable spatial development in Serbian practice (Čolić, 2009; Đorđević & Dabović, 2009; Nedović-Budić, Đorđević, & Dabović, 2011). It also marked the establishment of the Agency for Spatial Planning of the Republic of Serbia in charge for adoption of the Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia and the regional plans. In 2006, the *Planning and Construction Act* was amended, but no significant changes were made.

The 2006 *Planning and Construction Act* proved in practice not to have sufficiently developed instruments for implementation and monitoring. The new amended Act, adopted in 2009, introduced *the Implementation Program* for all planning documents that should also include a clear explanation of how the activities will be funded (Čolić, 2009; Zakon o planiranju i izgradnji, 2009). The Agency for Spatial Planning of the Republic of Serbia was put in charge for the *Central Repository* that should contain all adopted planning documents in Serbia. The Agency was also responsible for producing *the List of Developers* working at the territory of each Municipality or City in Serbia, and *the Register of Issued Building Permits*, both to be available online. Also, the 2009 Act merged all building and construction permits into one called '*Building Permit*'.

Apart from the development of procedural issues, the changes in planning and construction legislation and practice since the 2000 aimed at supporting neoliberal spatial governance by granting greater freedoms to the cities in attracting capital investments and being market-supportive (Đorđević & Dabović, 2009; Čolić, 2009). That was ensured by better integration of planning and construction legislation with the Local Government Act, as well as by transferring more powers to the local level to enable them to manage the local economic development. Network of the offices for the Local Economic Development have been piloted in 2006 in 32 Municipalities, and with the 2007 Local Government Act, all Municipalities in Serbia are legally required to have one (CenTriR, 2012; Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi, 2007). Their main role was to work with the potential investors, to initiate and manage public-private partnerships, and to manage collaboration with other Municipalities and Regions in Serbia.

Summing up

This Chapter has provided a background on the development of spatial governance in Serbia and its relation to the political, socio-economic and institutional context. It also outlined the main policy changes that supported that process and has mapped some of the key stages, policy paradigms and ideas involved in the production of spatial planning legislation and practice.

In the post Second World War, the issue of localism has been something of an 'ideal' for the societal and consequently spatial planning in Yugoslavia and Serbia. Institutionalised through special form of societal governance called self-management, education, management of public enterprises, decentralisation of the decision-making in 1950s and 1960s, and devolution in 1970s, it became a *modus operandi* of the generations of spatial planners. Still, the most important moment for spatial planning was the introduction of the comprehensive spatial planning approach that was initiated in the late 1950s and formally instated in 1971 with the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering Act. As many of the skills needed for it to be implemented were already present in Yugoslavia, it made it even easier. Increasing internationalization of spatial planning especially from 1960s and 1970s resulted in proliferation of planning ideas and practices in many countries. Still, comprehensive planning in Yugoslavia remained one very culture-specific variation.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia and tremulous political situation in Serbia in the 1990s interrupted this process, as the Milošević regime turned to the centralisation of power and decision-making. In the years after the 2000 and political changes, new policies aimed at decentralisation empowered the local level and re-introduced the Localism Agenda through the decentralisation of spatial planning, putting more importance on the local economic development and the capital flows.

Despite many achievements, some other transition-related policy shifts after 2000 have not brought all the expected results. Privatisation did not bring long expected economic stability and budgetary revenue, or rapid restructuring of previously socially owned enterprises therefore delaying the restructuring of public sector. That put an economic strain on the cities and slowed down their economic development. Its impact on governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, as well as legislative and institutional context in which all that is happening is explored in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER 4: Governance of the historic city centres in Serbia

Introduction

The previous Chapter provided the context for understanding of how spatial planning evolved in Serbia and also explored the changes in spatial planning legislation and practice as they related to the political, socio-economic and institutional context and reflected societal processes and dynamics. This Chapter aims to build on that by providing the comprehensive review of the development and institutionalisation of heritage conservation in Serbia in the post Second World War period and its integration into spatial planning. This Chapter then continues with the analysis of the policy documents in force and interviews conducted in order to better understand organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. The empirical evidence presented here has been organised around the four themes – policies and ideas, political and economic factors, management, cultural and personal factors, and finally, bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation.

Heritage conservation legislation in Serbia

Before the comprehensive planning

The first post Second World War policy in the field of built heritage preservation was an interim policy document adopted on 20 February 1945, the *Cultural Heritage Preservation and Maintenance Ordinance (Odluka o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina, AVNOJ)*, followed by the *Cultural Heritage and Natural Rarity Preservation Act (Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnjačkih retkosti)* in July 1945 (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). After the first post Second World War

Constitution in Yugoslavia has been adopted in 1946, Parliament amended the existing law which was then known as the *Cultural Heritage and Nature Preservation Act 1946* (Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih retkosti, 1946). This Act was a very concise one and did not provide a clear definition of the cultural heritage but in the Article 1 it stated that “*all movable and immovable cultural, historical, artistic and ethnological monuments*” may be protected by this Act.

Article 2 of this Act marked the formation of *the Main Institute for Preservation and Scientific Research of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Vrhovni institut za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture i prirodnih vrednosti) in Yugoslavia under the Ministry of Education. The institution also had responsibility to set up the Institutes in all six Yugoslav republics. This process was completed by 1949. In 1947 in Serbia *Institute for Preservation and Scientific Research of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* was founded (Krstić B. , 2006).

This Act clearly identified the owners of the cultural properties who were deemed responsible for getting the Rules on Permitted Development from the Institute in charge prior to any works on the cultural property (Article 3). Furthermore, article 10 of the Act gave the authorisation to the Institutes to “*according to their professional opinion, do all the necessary works on the maintenance and conservation of the cultural properties at the State’s expense*” while “*the owner of a protected cultural property is exempt from paying 50% to the full amount on property taxes*” (Article 14). The intention of the Yugoslav Government was to compensate the owners of the cultural properties for the limitations they were exposed to due to the restriction on the permitted development of their property.

In the 1950s, preservation of the cultural and natural heritage has been institutionally separated which lead to the establishment of *the Federal Institute for Preservation of Cultural Heritage* (Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture).

The introduction of institutional decentralisation (1953 Constitutional Law of Yugoslavia) and self-management and social ownership (1955 Organisation of the Communes Act) had its influences on legislation in the field of cultural heritage. All properties that were owned by the State became socially owned.

Principal Law on the Cultural Heritage (Opšti zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1959) passed in Yugoslav Parliament in 1959. During the discussion in the Federal Parliament of Yugoslavia, Kosta Crvenkovski, Federal Secretary for the Education

and Culture, prior to the adoption of the new law said, that the *character of the cultural heritage preservation system came into contradiction with decentralized social structure* (from Krstić, 2006, p.66). There were many changes of the legislation and administration of the cultural heritage preservation in Yugoslavia. To begin with, the new law had 54 articles compared to the previous Act which had only 21, because there were many elements that now became a part of the legislation, including numerous procedures (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006).

This Law delineated cultural monuments to be: *“immovable and movable cultural properties, or groups of cultural properties, that have archaeological, historical, sociological, ethnographical, artistic, urban or other scientific or cultural values for the community”* (Article 1). All cultural properties that were previously owned by the State were thereupon in the social ownership, or as put in the Article 5: *“every individual and legal entity, institution, association or other organisation”* was considered as an owner of those cultural properties. The Law further introduced a principle of *ex lege* protection of the cultural heritage; *“cultural monuments are protected by this law regardless of whether they are designated”* (Article 3). In practice that meant that any property that poses some of the values stated in the Article 1 can be protected as a cultural property.

By this Law, the Institutes for Preservation of Cultural Heritage became independent institutions but got the Managements Boards functioning on the principles of self-management (Article 8). That ensured not only an institutional decentralisation but transferred some of the powers, particularly in respect to designation to the Institutes themselves (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). The Law made it possible to open the Institutes for Preservation of Cultural Heritage at the local levels as well. Preservation of the natural heritage has been left out and regulated in a separate law.

In 1961 further changes were made to *the Principal Law on the Cultural Heritage* in order to support a more decentralised socio-political system in Yugoslavia and responsibility for the designation of the cultural properties was transferred to the Municipalities. That move has been overly criticized by the professionals because it resulted in different criteria being applied to the cultural property values and significance assessment in different localities (Krstić B. , 2006). Moreover, this change resulted in Institutes for Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Yugoslavia no longer being research-centred institutions and losing their professional integrity in the decision-making process which shifted more towards local political elites in the self-management process.

Table 13: Contextualising the post Second World War built heritage conservation in Yugoslavia and Serbia

The main characteristics of the period	Cultural heritage legislation	International documents influencing the practice
1946 Constitution (socialism as an official ideology of Yugoslavia)	1945 Cultural Heritage Preservation and Maintenance Ordinance	
1953 <i>Constitutional Law of Yugoslavia</i> (the beginnings of institutional decentralisation)	1946 Cultural Heritage and Nature Preservation Act 1959 General Cultural Heritage Act	1954 Hague Convention (ratified in 1955)
1955 the Organisation of Communes Act (introduction of self-management and social ownership)	1961 General Cultural Heritage Act	
1963 Constitution (decentralisation and regionalisation)	1965 General Cultural Heritage Act	1964 ICOMOS Venice Charter 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention (ratified in 1974)
1974 Constitution (devolution of power)	1977 <i>Cultural Heritage Act</i> of the Republic of Serbia (heritage preservation has been linked to urban and regional planning through planning documents) 1981 and 1991 Amendments to Cultural Heritage Act (1977)	1975 Granada Convention (ratified in 1985) 1976 UNESCO Nairobi Recommendations
1992 Constitution	1994 Cultural Heritage Act of the Republic of Serbia	

Heritage conservation and comprehensive planning

In the 1960s a great deal of professional discussion had been focused on the relationship between town planning and built heritage conservation in Yugoslavia

(Krstić B. , 2006). In 1962 the Federal Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection organised consultations between the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation and Town Planning Agencies from all over Yugoslavia entitled '*Town planning and preservation of the cultural heritage*'. This event took place in the city of Split in Croatia, home of one of the largest conservation areas in former Yugoslavia, consisting of the Diocletian Palace and surrounding historic quarters. This event initiated a wider professional discussion that soon resulted in changes to the legislation that regulates this matter. At another event in Ohrid (Macedonia) in 1967, The Standing Conference of the Towns and Cities organised consultations between the town planners and built heritage conservation professionals entitled '*Preservation of the Cultural Heritage in the Cities*'. Both events had considerable influence on practice in Yugoslavia and on subsequent changes in legislation.

Another important moment was the adoption of *the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (ICOMOS, 1964) also known as the Venice Charter in 1964 (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). At the time of its adoption, the Charter had a great influence on international practices and approaches towards cultural heritage conservation and Yugoslavia was no exception. Moreover, Yugoslav professionals who were very active internationally also took part in the preparation of the Venice Charter, with Đurđe Bošković, a prominent Yugoslav art historian, taking part in the Committee in charge of its adoption on behalf of Yugoslavia. The most important innovation that the Venice Charter introduced was a definition of the concept of an historic monument.

The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time. (Venice Charter, Article 1)

Article 1 broadened the concept of an historic monument from a single cultural property to encompass an entire urban or rural area, which triggered a vivid international debate which led to more attention being paid to the integration of the built heritage conservation and town planning in the decades to come.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia's new Federal Constitution in 1963 institutionalised decentralisation, and transferred the rights to the Republics to formulate their own laws. It is in fact the first Yugoslav Constitution that contained a reference on cultural

heritage: “*property rights to the monuments of exceptional cultural value may be limited by the law if required to protect public interest*” (Article 25). In 1965 the *Principal Law on the Cultural Heritage* (Osnovni zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture) followed, but there were no significant changes, except that almost all the articles related to the procedures and legal relationships being moved to rules and guidelines that accompanied the Law (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006; Opšti zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1965).

The landmark Yugoslav spatial planning policy – the 1971 Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering – introduced an integrated, comprehensive spatial planning model (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006). The new *Cultural Heritage Act* (1977) that followed marked the beginning of the new phase in the preservation of the built heritage in Serbia (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). Firstly, the concept of *cultural heritage* was redefined and now encompassed: *cultural properties, urban and rural areas, archaeological excavations and sites, important places, works of art, historical artefacts, film negatives and old and rear books*. That meant that the *Cultural Heritage Act* from 1977 for the first time defined the types of immovable and movable heritage to be protected by the law. Secondly, the *categorisation of cultural properties* was introduced for the first time. The 1977 Act categorised cultural properties as cultural properties of the exceptional values, cultural properties of the great value, and cultural properties of the moderate value. Thirdly, an opportunity to link town planning and built heritage conservation was created. The *Planning and Spatial Management Act* (1974) introduced a comprehensive planning model which identified built heritage conservation as one of the sectors that had to be included in the planning strategies. The Cultural Heritage Act further strengthened that link by defining that construction permits for the works on the cultural property cannot be granted without the Rules on Permitted Development that only Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation could issue. In addition, the Rules on Permitted Development had to be included in planning strategies at all levels.

Finally, one of the major changes introduced by the *Cultural Heritage Act* (1977) was the change of roles and responsibilities of *Institutes for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage*. In accordance to the societal changes and the final phase of turning to a self-management system, Institutes became ‘*the Basic Organisations of the Associated Labour*’ (Zakon o zaštiti kulturnih dobara, 1977; Krstić B. , 2006). That meant that Management Boards of the Institutes have been formed from the representatives of the local Workers’ Councils who had no professional knowledge, while professionals working at the Institutes had no say. At the same time, the Ministry

of Culture became responsible for controlling Institutes' professional performance but there were no mechanisms in place to ensure that was happening in practice. Therefore, the Institutes lost their role of being professional institutions, and the link between them and the Ministries of Culture at the level of the Republics was lost, which resulted in no control over implementation of the law. Moreover, Institutes lost their right to propose new policies, as that was exclusively the right of the Ministry of Culture. However, this was not the situation in Croatia and Slovenia as the Institutes in these Republics remained professionally independent, since they were exempt from the workers' self-management system.

Although the Decision to create the first Yugoslav Cultural Heritage Registry was made in 1976, only with the 1977 Act it became a part of the legislation. In accordance with the *Cultural Heritage Act (1977)*, in 1979 were adopted *Rules on the data kept in Central Registers* in order to regulate the process.

In the post Second World War period, Yugoslavia followed the principle that international conventions have a primacy over national laws so they were becoming a part of the national legislation shortly after they were ratified (see Table 14). Also professional links with the UNESCO and ICOMOS had a huge impact on approach to heritage conservation in Yugoslavia. Although not an international convention, the *1976 UNESCO Recommendations concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic towns* had particular influence on policy measures that became part of the Cultural Heritage Act in 1977. The Recommendations urged member states to agree on "*comprehensive and energetic policies for the protection and revitalisation of historic areas and their surroundings as part of national, regional and local planning*" (UNESCO, 1976, Preamble). Recommendations also asserted the importance of historic areas for the society in terms of their role in defining cultural diversity and the identity of individual communities. It emphasised that although the situation entailed the responsibilities for every citizen, it was the public authorities' obligation to adopt necessary legal measures. The particular importance of this document was that it provided recommendations concerning legal and administrative measures, as well as, technical, economic and social measures.

Table 14: The list of ratified international conventions in the field of cultural heritage protection

International conventions	Ratification date	The law they are part of
UNESCO Hague convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict (1954)	1955	Principal Law on the Cultural Heritage (1959)

UNESCO convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the Illicit Import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property (1970)	1973	Cultural Heritage Act (1977)
UNESCO convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage (1972)	1974	Cultural Heritage Act (1977)
Convention for the protection of the architectural heritage of Europe (1985)	1991	Not yet part of any law
European convention on the protection of the archaeological heritage (1992)	2007	Not yet part of any law
Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society (2005)	2007	Not yet part of any law
European landscape convention (2000)	2011	Not yet part of any law

Source: National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Website: <http://www.parlament.gov.rs> and Krstić (2006)

In 1980s there were no major changes to the law, but only amendments (in 1981 and 1991) aimed at synchronising *Cultural Heritage Act* (1977) with other policies. After the dissolution of old Yugoslavia in 1991, and the adoption of the Yugoslav Constitution in 1992, the new *Cultural Heritage Act* (Zakon o kulturnim dobrima) was passed in 1994. This Act was aiming at regulating “*the use and protection of cultural properties and the requirements for conducting activities to protect cultural properties*” (Article 1). The major change, compared to the *Cultural Heritage Act* (1977), was an attempt to redefine the role of the *Institutes for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage*. *Cultural Heritage Act* (1994) gave back the *Institutes for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage* their professional autonomy, as the members of their Management Boards were again the professionals. The supervision over the implementation of this Act was entrusted to the Ministry of Culture (Article 126).

Designation of the cultural properties procedure has also been changed. According to the Act, only the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation could designate cultural properties. Designation of cultural properties of the exceptional value was responsibility of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia (mater of the approval of the Parliament). All other cultural properties were designated by the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation in charge (regional or municipal Institutes) with the approval from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia.

The *Cultural Heritage Act* (1994) predominantly focused on the single-monument protection providing detail procedures on how different conservation and maintenance measures should take place, but no special attention has been given to mechanisms of the area-based conservation. However, the Act provided the link between the

cultural heritage preservation and spatial planning in the Article 75, Section 2 stating that the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation are entrusted to:

Participate in the preparation of planning documents through the delivery of data available and the conditions for protection of immovable cultural heritage and to participate in the consideration of proposals of spatial and urban plans. (Zakon o kulturnim dobrima, 1994)

With this legal provision, area-based conservation has been shifted to be a responsibility to the town planning and put into effect through planning documents.

In 2001, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia formed the Working Group in charge to prepare *the Cultural Heritage Bill*. In December 2001 they prepared the Bill that reached parliamentary procedure but was withdrawn in 2004 because it was too complicated, too long and primarily oriented to the organisation of institutional work (Šurdić, 2008). In 2007, the Working Group re-commenced its review but hasn't yet produced a new Bill. The main problem seems to revolve around the question of whether to split *Cultural Heritage Bill* into four new laws that would regulate built heritage preservation, the work of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation, museums and archives in the Republic of Serbia.

The empirical evidence

In the early 2000s, a new Democrat Party Government initiated a change of the existing planning legislation. That soon resulted in initiation of the works on the *Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia* that was adopted in 2010 (Zakon o prostornom planu Republike Srbije od 2010. do 2020. godine, 2010). The Spatial Development Plan was followed by the *Implementation Program of the Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia* adopted in 2011 (Republička agencija za prostorno planiranje, 2011). Another policy document that will be taken into consideration here was the *2009 Study on the Permitted Development, Maintenance and Use of Designated Cultural Properties and Cultural Properties Enjoying Prior Protection* (Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 2009) – referred as 'the Cultural Heritage Development Strategy' hereafter – that provided the basis for the work on previous two policy documents.

The analysis of policy documents has been supported with the evidence obtained from eight in-depth interviews conducted with the various policy actors involved in governance of the conservation areas in Serbia (see Appendix 2 for the complete list of respondents). After the preliminary talks with key actors and informants fourteen key actors were approached for the interviews but half of them either refused to take part in the research or did not reply. Nonetheless, respondents interviewed represent the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection, Department for the Urban Planning at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, and two civil sector organisations, Kulturklammer and Balkan Community Initiative Fund. The interviews have been conducted in February 2009, November 2010 and February 2011. Specific guidance notes for the interviews were mailed to the respondents beforehand and the interviews themselves took between one hour and one hour and a half.

Governance of the conservation areas in Serbia: policies and ideas

The policy definitions

The 2010 Spatial Development Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SDPRS) is the main document that sets up the development direction of the Republic of Serbia, including conservation and development of the conservation areas in Serbia. In its overall structure the SDPRS is offering the claims about the role of the Plan, vision, and aims and objectives of the spatial development of the Republic of Serbia.

The declared role of the SDPRS was to “determine long-term prerequisites of the organization, development, use and protection of the territory of Serbia in order to harmonize economic and social development of the natural, environmental and cultural potential and limitations in its territory (SDPRS, Article 1).” In order to do so, it singled out three aims in relation to cultural heritage: firstly, *the development of cultural identity and territorial distinctiveness*; secondly, *the promotion and protection of natural and cultural heritage as a development resource*; and thirdly, *the conservation and sustainable use of natural and cultural resources*. In order to achieve this goal it was necessary to adopt instruments aimed at cultural heritage getting more important role for the community, as well as to better include built

heritage conservation into comprehensive planning. In addition, the Cultural Heritage Development Strategy (CHDP) established the following principles: *principle of sustainable development in spatial planning, principle of integrated heritage conservation, principle of a comprehensive planning, and setting up the new doctrines of spatial planning and new attitude towards cultural values.*

Problems considered the most important

All three policy documents – the SDPRS, the CHDS and the Implementation Program – identified numerous problems conservation areas were exposed to in Serbia. The CHDS elaborated problems of the historic cities stating that the city centres are neglected entirely, but that architectural heritage was in a poor state too, primarily because of the decades of degradation and lack of maintenance and investment in urban renewal. The cities in the south were in a particularly difficult economic situation, while north of the country was significantly better off. The CHDS identified following reasons for heritage decay: “permanent deterioration, the lack of maintenance, and often inappropriate use (CHDS, p. 7).”

The most important problems, both the SDPRS and the CHDS agreed were the lack of National Strategy for the Protection of Cultural Heritage and an inadequate network of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation. The CHDS further elaborated on problems related to the network of the Institutes suggesting that there were the cases of overlapping of the territory covered by the Institutes (overlapping exists between Regional and Municipal Institutes), and cases where some territories were not covered completely as the Regional Institutes did not have enough staff to carry out regular duties. In particular, the CHDS stated that cultural was the only sector that has not been included in public sector reform during the process of the EU Accession. Therefore, the status and treatment of urban heritage differs from one local community to another, and the same applies to the designation and significance assessment of the individual cultural properties.

The SDPRS listed numerous problems urban conservation areas were facing stating that they cumulatively contributed to its very poor state. Those were: the unauthorised construction works, heavy traffic in the vicinity of the cultural properties and insufficient integration of the cultural heritage preservation into strategies of spatial development, low awareness of the values and importance of heritage for the society, as well as that more attention has been given to the sacral buildings than to any other.

Most of the attention is given to sacred buildings, while the vernacular architecture is being neglected. There is a noticeable trend of an unauthorised construction, as well as allowing the heavy-transit traffic in the vicinity of the designated cultural properties. (SDPRS, p. 12)

The SDPRS emphasised that heritage conservation stays sectoral, and as the main reason for that, the SDPRS specified that:

Heritage is not understood as a resource for development. There is still no national strategy, while the statutory provisions from 1994 are outdated. (SDPRS, p. 12)

Raising the awareness of heritage values

The CHDS identified the lack of awareness of the cultural heritage values to be a problem and suggested that this should be remedied through the spatial planning process. The CHDS recognised the importance of raising awareness of the values and importance of cultural heritage within the local community which can be achieved by treating heritage as a resource for social and economic development of the community.

For conservation project to be successfully implemented is not sufficient only to be professionally prepared, but it is necessary that the local population is aware of the importance of this project, and engaged in promoting it, and providing the support. If there is an awareness of heritage values, care for its preservation could start at the local level. (CHDS, p. 10)

Identifying these values could be a process that starts from the bottom rather than the top. If awareness of heritage values starts at the individual level, the CHDS suggested that preservation of heritage and successful implementation of such projects could be entrusted to the residents.

The policy solutions

All three documents taken into consideration here offered the range of policy solutions to problems identified. Those policy solutions will be categorised into two groups. An

additional issue represents the distribution of the authority and resources which will be addressed separately.

The institutional reform

The CHDP asserted the effective protection of cultural heritage, as well as the successful implementation of the spatial development strategy of the Republic of Serbia, cannot be enforced unless institutions undergo fundamental reforms. Two principles of the public administration reform were especially emphasised. Those were the principle of *de-politicization*, which involves the introduction of professionals in the central government and introduction of the principle of *professionalization* where personnel selection criteria will rest on their skills and experience.

The SDPRS highlighted that the organizational and institutional arrangements have to be amended and reformed so that institutions became accountable for their actions. In addition, the SDPRS pointed at there were other areas that should be improved, such as, the preparation and monitoring the development of areas of study, the preparation and harmonization of laws and regulations, the international and inter-agency coordination and harmonization, the establishment of a unified information and monitoring systems, providing of the technical assistance, the preparation and implementation of training programs, the organization and coordination of cross-border, and the transnational and interregional cooperation.

The CHDP recognised *reorganization of the network of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Protection* as the most important activity of all. *The establishment of new institutions*, and especially those that have been proven to be missing in the chain of the conservation activities, such as the Research Institute, or the Centre for Digitization of Heritage.

Standardisation and modernisation of the professional approach

Both the SDPRS and the CHDS agreed that standardisation of the professional approach and harmonisation of the legislation with the international doctrine and ratified conventions were the way forward for the heritage conservation in Serbia. In relation to standardisation of the professional approach, the SDPRS identified series of the specific measures and instruments including resolving issues with the professional licenses, and professional advancements and training. Furthermore, the

establishment of the National Council for Culture was considered important. That Council would be in charge of establishing conservation strategies, coordinating the institutional network, and initiating the adoption of laws and regulations.

For all this to be possible, the CHDS states that the prerequisite was to *define and implement a unique system of European standards*, which combines all the key theoretical and practical approaches to heritage protection: management, planning, financing, setting the policies and processes of protection, diagnostic imaging and, measures of preventive care, conservation treatments, maintenance, professional conduct, presentation, and obligations of the community. The application of these standards in conservation should contribute to the definition and development of cultural heritage values: historical, scientific, aesthetic, social, symbolic, economic, and educational value.

The distribution of authority and resources

The CHDP and the Implementation Plan identified who are the policy actors responsible for implementing the objectives. For instance, the Implementation Plan has given responsibility for the implementation of the strategic priorities to the State-level institutions such as the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, the Government and its Ministries, government agencies, public enterprises, departments and institutes, academic institutions and others. Institutions at the regional level involved in the implementation of the strategic priorities include the Government of Vojvodina and its secretariat, public enterprises and regional development agencies, and at the local level, the local government and public corporations and authorities. In addition to these institutions, the CHDS called for partnerships with the national, foreign or international organisations, private and non-governmental institutions, such as civil society involved in the implementation of strategic priorities.

Theoretical concepts

Respondents were not in particular asked to give the insights into their understanding of theoretical concepts surrounding historic city centres' governance but some of those insights emerged in the interviews, as well as in the policy documents analysed.

Terminology and definitions

The most frequently mentioned was a concept of *the cultural heritage*. Most of the respondents (#01, #03, #04 and #06) defined heritage as being a non-renewable resource. Among the respondents there was a general feeling that cultural heritage was also linked with urban development and sustainable development. The most comprehensive definition of cultural heritage is provided by the CHDS:

Cultural heritage represents a group of resources inherited from the past and identified by people as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment that is result of the interaction between people and places over time. (CHDS, p. 6)

The respondent from the Ministry of Culture (#01) critiqued of the official professional discourses surrounding the understanding of *cultural heritage values* as very narrowly understood which in practice is further exacerbated by a technocratic understanding that “*cultural heritage is matter for experts and science and not a matter of the citizens*” leaving therefore no room for the improvement.

The senior conservation officer (#04) pointed out that there was a problem in *what was considered to be cultural heritage* both by citizens and professionals. She reported of the difficulties she encountered in practice with the designation of cultural properties that were considered to be ‘not old enough’.

It is a problem not only of the citizens, but also of the professionals to identify values of cultural properties that is ‘not old enough’. Not old enough because in this country is far easier to relate to the medieval heritage and attach values to it.
#04

A concept related to the values assessment emerged during the interviews (Avrami, Mason, & de la Tore, 2000; de la Tore, 2002). The senior planning officer (#03) mentioned the *urban areas’ values assessment* emphasised the importance of doing values assessment not only for the individual cultural properties but for the conservation area as well.

Urban areas’ values assessment deals precisely with those segments of valorisation that are related to the urban environment. Individual cultural

properties are important; they have greater or lesser value. But urban space itself, its genesis, urban elements, structure is also something to consider. #03

The CHDS identified following approaches to preservation of the cultural heritage – conservation, restoration, reconstruction, revitalisation, interpolation, presentation, valorisation and authenticity. While other approaches were merely technical in their nature, conservation was felt to be “a continuous process.”

Heritage and development

Senior planning officer (#03), senior conservation officer (#04) and representative from the non-governmental sector (#06) went a step further and introduced the term ‘*cultural heritage development*’ which was understood as an integration of built heritage conservation and town planning. The senior conservation officer (#04) thought that cultural heritage development was “*a controlled management of heritage in the context of a future economic growth and sustainable development of the city.*” The most comprehensive definition of cultural heritage development provided the respondent from the non-governmental sector (#06):

Cultural heritage development includes conservation and improvement of an area, primarily through its inclusion in the contemporary life and socio-cultural processes of community development, which involves the adequate evaluation, rehabilitation and utilization of heritage resources, and training of citizens and other social actors how to participate and provide active contribution in those processes. #06

The respondent here expanded the concept of cultural heritage development from the physical conservation of cultural properties and urban area in order to encompass community development, and wider citizens’ participation and contribution.

This highlights the difference in understanding of the concept of cultural heritage development that exists between the representatives from the governmental and non-governmental sectors. The former saw cultural heritage conservation and development to be a matter for professionals and institutionalised professional approaches. The latter thought that the concept of the cultural heritage development is too narrowly set up and that goals of the development shouldn’t be limited to physical conservation and land-use management but should include community development goals, wider public participation, and education of the actors.

Skills and knowledge

All respondents who commented agreed that there was a lack of professional development opportunities in the field of heritage conservation which resulted in a lack of knowledgeable and skilful professionals. The senior conservation officer (#04) believed that the biggest problem was inertia both at the personal and organisational level. The lack of personal ambitions and competitiveness among staff has been exacerbated by the lack of opportunities for professional training and development within the organisations.

I think that the biggest problem lies inside of us. First, human resources are quite bad because for years we did not pay attention to professional training and development of staff; this is a profession where you do not learn much at the University, but you have to professionally develop while working. And if you start to work and lock your brain, you simple lose the ability to do this job. #04

The whole situation is further aggravated by the fact that the institutional system does not encourage professional advances in the career and further professional specialisation; on the contrary, it encourages professional inertia.

One formally finishes University studies, work for one year at the Institute, pass an exam in conservation and becomes a professional in built heritage conservation. One can be conservation professional even if he or she never did or wrote anything. #02

How this situation can be changed? Respondents (#03, #06 and #07) felt that any change of the existing situation was beyond their personal and professional reach and the reach of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. For them, of utmost importance was to change the way society associated with its cultural heritage and the way to do it is through education.

In Serbia, if cultural heritage protection remains the responsibility only of this institution [the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection], then we will not manage to protect much. I'm not saying that we will protect nothing, but that we have to develop the other side, of course, the process of education, through some new cultural policy of the State. #03

Ideas

Cultural heritage – potential or a limiting factor for the development of the city

The town planning professional (#05) felt that “*cultural heritage protection has been integrated too much into planning strategies*”. In the respondent’s view, the problem concerning *conflict between the town planners and conservation officers* is twofold. Conservation officers either designate too many cultural properties, or formulate too strict Rules on the Permitted Development. Either way, in the respondent’s view, conservation officers had very little understanding of the consequences of such doing and constraints they put on the economic development of the town.

The respondent thought that as there were no mechanisms in the planning strategies that define who was responsible for the cultural properties’ maintenance, cultural heritage became more of the limiting factor than potential for the historic city centres’ development.

It is a question how far cultural heritage can be considered as a potential, and how far as a limiting factor, because there is a need to invest in it. But the question is what do we get? #05

In the respondent’s view, the only way cultural heritage can be considered as a potential development resource was through cultural tourism, and even then it was a question how much it could contribute? The respondent mentioned the National Strategy for Tourism and the National Sustainable Development Strategy that took into consideration development of the cities and were looking in the direction of making the most of cultural tourism, where the conclusion was that the investment needed would be too big. Also, that it would be much easier if cultural properties were owned by the City or the State, not privately owned, as it would be easier to manage its use and maintenance.

Most of the conservation areas occupy parts of the city that are attractive and that would be most profitable in economic terms, if someone invested in them. #05

Too many owners, too many different interests and the general inability of the owners to invest in the maintenance of their cultural properties were the main obstacles for the town planning professional (#05) to see conservation areas as a potential for development.

The roles and responsibilities of non-governmental organisations

An experienced professional (#06), who runs a non-governmental organisation called KULTURKLAMMER thought that the role of the non-governmental organisations was to *foster decentralization of the protection and presentation of heritage*, as well as *helping an introduction of democratic principles in the spatial planning and directing the development of the conservation areas*. Projects that respondent #06 was involved were focused on the industrial and socialist heritage in Serbia. The aim of these projects was to highlight the importance industrial and socialist heritage have as a potential generator of the identity, and to raise the awareness of the importance of its maintenance.

The respondent #07 from the Balkan Community Initiatives Fund Belgrade reported on projects her organisation was implementing. All of them were bottom-up projects aiming to revive neglected public areas, primarily urban areas with the active participation of the citizens in the entire planning process and subsequent, in the revival of these public places. For the respondent (#07) the most important aim of the non-governmental organisations was *to help create networks of actors at the local level that would have a capacity to plan, organise and implement projects aiming at benefiting local communities*.

Political and economic factors

Governance of the historic city centres is very much dependent on political commitment of the policy actors and their ability to provide backing and leadership (Challis, et al., 1988; Kickert & Koopenjan, 1997; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Political tradition, administrative culture and availability of funding are of no less importance. This theme will look at the different aspects of political and economic context and how those influence governance of the conservation areas in Serbia.

The culture of 'short-termism'

Senior conservation officers (#02 and #04) felt that there is no 'culture' of long-term planning within the built heritage conservation sector in Serbia. In her opinion "only a long-term program can actually guarantee a continuity of renewal and revitalisation of cultural heritage". Also, personal goals and self-promotion are put before long-term

heritage revitalisation and development among built heritage conservation professionals.

Right now if I start one way, and tomorrow I retire or change job, other fellow colleague will start from the beginning. And we are constantly in that kind of situation. #04

Senior conservation officer (#02) blamed politics in the country for culture of 'short-termism.'

Here everything is changing so fast – we are in the transition. We do not have the continuity of government departments. Governments come and go but we must have clearly defined cultural politics. #02

Built heritage conservation – priority or not?

Respondents #01, #04 and #05 were of the opinion that not only was built heritage conservation not a priority, but that very little attention has been given to it. In their opinion, there were more important issues for the State to deal with. The head of the Department for the International Collaboration at the Ministry of Culture (#01) emphasised the importance harmonisation of legislation within the EU plays in determining policy priorities in Serbia. As cultural heritage preservation is not a part of EU Accession processes, therefore it is not a priority.

Senior conservation officer (#04) reported that "funding for culture has been reduced, and within that, cultural heritage is doing badly". Moreover, respondent felt that Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia allocates funding according to personal preferences and political priorities.

Our main misfortune is that funding allocation is linked to the person and predominantly funding goes for cultural properties at the World Heritage List, or for Kosovo. #04

Town planning professional (#05) expressed the concern that at the local level investing in built heritage is certainly not a priority as "cities currently have much bigger problems – regular maintenance of infrastructure, social housing."

Political (mis)uses of heritage

The head of the Department for the International Collaboration at the Ministry of Culture (#01) reported that in his view the role of cultural heritage is to help intercultural dialogue between different ethnic and religious groups – Croatians and Serbian, Catholic and Orthodox Christians. Respondent took the City of Bač as an example. This city is situated in Vojvodina, close to the border with Croatia and is just one of the numerous examples of the multiethnic and multiconfessional communities in this part of the Republic of Serbia.

A good management and restoration of cultural properties in Bač can contribute to establishing better relations in a multiconfessional, multiethnic community and multicultural environment, which is not to say that relationships there are now bad, but it is certain that after all these wars, because Bač is close to Croatia and Vukovar, it is necessary to invest in efforts to establish better relations. #01

Senior conservation officer (#04) felt that designations for the UNESCO World Heritage List are a matter of fashion among politicians in Serbia. In the respondent's view, similar fashion exists in the other countries in transition, where there is no diversity in what has been designated, so in Bosnia two bridges are designated, and in Serbia just monasteries. Although this respondent did not explicitly say that designation of the cultural monuments for the UNESCO World Heritage List is related to the feelings of national pride or nationalism, respondent implied it by linking it to the national identity, and in this case that identity is related to Orthodox Christianity and represented by the medieval monasteries.

Two respondents (#01 and #06) expressed their concern that cultural heritage is considered as a sort of 'privilege' among the professionals from the governmental sector.

We have the system where preservation of cultural properties is understood as an activity of high cultural and professional prestige; not as a need to change the quality of the place where citizens live. #01

The 'Blame Game'

The head of the Department for the International Collaboration at the Ministry of Culture (#01) felt that there was a 'blame game' between the Ministry of Culture and

built heritage conservation professionals. In his opinion, the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation do not want to change, and 'an ossified' institutional system in place further contributes to a problem because it prevents institutional changes. Furthermore, respondent thought that built heritage conservation professionals are creating a monopoly over their 'territory'. Respondent referred to an attempt to create a priority list of the cultural properties in danger in Serbia in order to avoid personal preferences in determining which cultural properties get funding for its conservation work.

We were for the first time actually trying to get the lists from the Institutes. We could not manage that at the end because it's a substantial job and we didn't have the capacity to do it; we simply didn't have enough people to consult with the local community to see what their priorities are. Why should only the priorities of certain professionals become national priorities? #01

On the other hand, senior conservation officer (#02) felt that without having a clear 'conservation politics' the relevant professionals cannot effectively plan their long-term activities. Asked who is responsible for adopting this strategy, the respondent decisively pointed at the Ministry of Culture, rebutting any responsibility of her institution or built heritage conservation sector in preparing such a document.

Respondent from the civil sector (#06) expressed her concern for the future of cultural heritage conservation in Serbia. In the respondent's opinion, under-representation of the topics related to cultural heritage in the national curriculum, as well as non-facilitation of children's participation in initiatives aimed at preserving and revitalizing cultural heritage resulted in the lack of awareness wider public has of the cultural properties' significance and values. Respondent felt that the State should do more to ensure that there is a link between the society and its heritage. When asked why the non-governmental sector don't get more involved in the projects that would link society and heritage, the respondent felt that "*outdated legislation, centralized system of preservation and presentation of cultural heritage and lack of democratic approach to the development*" are the key reasons for the under-developed field of cultural heritage conservation, its lack of integration in overall community development and low levels of citizen participation in preserving and developing cultural heritage.

Revision of the Cultural Heritage Act (1994)

In 2001 Ministry of Culture formed a Working Group in charge for the revision of Cultural Heritage Act (1994). Since then, one Cultural Heritage Bill reached the Parliament in December 2001. As there was no political consensus, it was withdrawn from the procedure in 2004. The Working Group has been once more formed in 2007. Respondents #01 and #02 were members of both Working Groups.

The head of the Department for the International Collaboration at the Ministry of Culture (#01) reported on what were the bones of contention when the Working Group couldn't reach an agreement.

There is one thing built heritage conservation sector never accepted, namely to completely transform current system of institutions; to create an effective and well territorially distributed state Agency; to create a strong and technically, and educationally, scientifically set inspection. To spread conservation activities and, as much as possible, privatize them, open up for international collaborations, and to actually have a law aimed at establishing the relationship of heritage and citizens. #01

In the respondent's opinion, the Working Group spent too much time discussing how to elect Directors of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation, or how to manage the State Exams. The respondent concluded by saying that:

Whether because of the structure of the Working Group, whether because of our incapability, I was finally, in both cases – especially after the first attempt – pleased that we failed to produce a new law. #01

Senior conservation officer (#02) did not want to elaborate on the specific elements of discussion that took place at the Working Group insisting that those were never a problem, but that constant political changes that happened during that period had an adverse impact on the outcome.

Although respondents #03 and #04 did not take part in the Working Group they both felt that institutional reforms in terms of de-politicization and professionalization of the built heritage conservation sector should precede the changes of legislation. For the reform to take place, institutions should have a capacity to carry out the changes and in the respondents' opinion that is not possible at the moment.

Funding

The governmental sector supports their projects entirely from funds available from the different levels of government. Senior conservation officer (#02) reported that apart from funding that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection receives from the Ministry of Culture, they have some funds of their own which they get in a variety of ways, such as from the consultancy work or donations. The senior planning officer (#03) identified main activities that are lacking funding as research, field visits, and surveys that would assist planning of the conservation areas.

The sources of funding of the non-governmental sector are varied and range from the public and private sectors to the national and international foundations (respondents #06 and #07). Respondent #06 explained in more detail who supported her organisation's projects in the past.

KULTURKLAMMER's previous projects are mainly realised with the support from public sector, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Diaspora, City of Belgrade, Local Government - Municipality Stari Grad, and businesses - Erste Bank was our business partner on several projects. Our organization is currently at the stage of preparing projects to apply for funding from the international development programs. #06

As the main problems related to funding for non-governmental sector, respondent (#06) identified non-diversified sources of funding and the State being the main source, as well as that national and international foundations do not want to fund projects dealing with built heritage conservation. According to the respondent, the reasons for that situation are the institutional centralisation and official cultural politics that places cultural heritage conservation in the hands of privileged professionals working for the governmental institutions.

Funding allocation can be another obstacle for projects' completion. Respondent #06 reported on difficulties her organisation encountered when the Ministry of Culture decided to support their project but not for the phase that they applied for but for the final phase. That had direct impact on the project causing it to be modified in order to match funding criteria.

Management, cultural and personal factors

As most of these processes happen at the local level, more comprehensive discussion will follow in the next three chapters. Still some processes, management and instrumental issues that take place at the State level are going to be discussed here.

Communication and policy coordination

Respondents working at the governmental organisations (#02, #03, #04 and #05) reported that communication and collaboration takes place only if that was legally binding. Communication and collaboration, in the respondents' views, was reduced to formal administration of the ongoing activities, and its frequency was on the need-to-basis. However, the senior planning officer (#03) reported that there were also the occasions when the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation were not even asked to take part in the process of work on the planning strategies, although that collaboration was legally binding.

Sometimes they call them, but sometimes not; that happens as well. It happens that spatial plans are being made without contacts with the Institute in charge or even us to issue the Rules on Permitted Development. #03

The senior conservation officer (#02) thought that the lack of communication at the Ministerial level in the process of synchronisation of the new laws' prior to their adoption in the Parliament was significant and that it contributed to the policy incoherence and lacunae. In the respondent's opinion, this happened because Ministries did not evaluate the quality of one or the other policy solutions or the applicability of the proposed solutions. The respondent (#02) also expressed her concern that planning legislation was being updated regularly and changed in line with the practice, while built heritage legislation remained unchanged although circumstances and practice evolved over the course of years.

As our law is in growing conflict with the planning law, we are having more problems, because we cannot find a link that we expect to find because they went ahead. Some people claim that they are not. In any case, they did something and we did not. #02

This respondent further added that, in practice, incoherence between the two laws causes professionals working in the field of area-based conservation to decide which law they are going to use.

Attitudes towards collaborative work

There is a strong divide between governmental and non-governmental organisations in terms of whom they collaborate with. Governmental organisations tend to collaborate only with the other governmental departments, as this was deemed by the law. On the other hand, non-governmental organisations try to widen collaboration across the sectors with varied results.

Governmental organisations

Attitudes towards collaborative work among governmental organisations were best depicted by contrasting the views of the town planner (#05) and the conservation officer (#02).

The town planner's view:

In most of the cases, architects and town planners are on one side, while conservation officers are on the other. That is so logical and I think that everywhere is like that. Economic crisis is now also a limiting factor, as it is everywhere else. Not only here - in France, Portugal, Spain, Italy. #05

The conservation officer's view:

Basic starting point of the town planners is that each planner should dislike conservation officers the most, while conservation officers should have principles they will never abandon. Between these two very strong opposing sides, there is a very deep gap. I cannot claim that town planners are always wrong, and that conservation officers are always right, but there is something more about it, and we should talk and discuss it more. #02

Both the town planner and the conservation officers agreed that there were a history of negative attitudes towards collaborative work. It is difficult to judge how deep the divide that exists between these two sectors was, but the argumentation used to endorse those views went beyond the differences in the professional opinions, and it

suggested that there is a long history of low levels of trust and bad relationships between these two sectors. In order to endorse those views, senior planning officer (#05) uses path dependence as an argumentative resource in the policy process. Here the arguments *'it is logical'* and *'everywhere else is like this'* represent a kind of 'lock-in mechanisms' used to explain continuity, in this case, through path dependence (Martin & Simmie, 2008; Peters, Pierre, & King, 2005).

On the other hand, conservation officer (#02) thought that there was a deep divide between the sectors but stressed the importance communication would play to improve those relations.

Non-governmental organisations

Respondent #06 reported that collaboration between the non-governmental organisations happens between *"the organisation of a similar profile and field of professional activity"*, but that in most of the cases it is limited just to *"a formal cooperation without substantial work done together on the design and preparation of project activities"*. The respondent thought that difficulties in collaboration she reported here contributed to the fragmentation of the civil sector which was likely to result in *"seriousness of the situation"*, or *"inability to develop joint projects due to preoccupation with ensuring our own survival"*. She pointed out how collaboration with the governmental organisations took place:

Cooperation with the public sector is usually unilateral and civil society is expected to engage in projects by themselves with the use of all the necessary knowledge and skills, and in return they receive only formal support from public institutions.

Respondent further added that although State institutions, such as Ministry of Culture, see cooperation with civil society as important and desirable, still such cooperation was mainly used as an argument to gain positive political points, while the role of civil society was actually still very limited. Collaboration with the business sector was often limited to providing a support in terms of services (#06 and #07). In the view of respondent #07, that was due to the insufficient knowledge the business sector has about the civil sector. Both respondents identified personal contacts and friendships to be of the crucial importance in establishing the collaboration.

Personal inputs and initiatives

Two respondents (#01 and #04) reported on the low level of professional knowledge and expertise in the field of built heritage conservation. They linked it directly with the resistance to accept and get informed about the advances in the field, as well as the inertia in respect to spreading professional contacts and establishing professional collaborations.

Simply lack of knowledge about professional approaches and what has been done out there. And when I say that, I do not mean out there in England or France, but in Bulgaria or Romania. #01

I see that when my colleagues travel they do not make contacts, but only travel as tourists. They do not try to talk to colleagues, and to have that daily communication. #04

A senior conservation officer (#04) felt that her colleagues underestimate and discard the knowledge and approaches used and applied elsewhere.

Bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation

The main focus here will be on the non-governmental sector and the built heritage conservation sector. The spatial planning sector will be discussed more in the next three chapters as their activities are more visible at the local level.

Sectoral membership and structure

The Director of KULTURKLAMMER (#06) felt that non-governmental organisations in Serbia rarely work together, and that whole civil sector is very fragmented. In the respondent's view, this is likely to be a result of the difficult circumstances in which non-governmental organisations in Serbia work because the preoccupation to ensure their own survival was an obstacle for establishing a long-term collaboration. Respondent thought that non-governmental organisations either work on their own or with partners from the governmental sector as service providers where government does not have a capacity to establish their own services.

Contrary to respondent's opinion (#06), respondent #07 reported how her organisation tried to build networks of social actors, and to establish more functional inter-organisational collaborations at the local level.

We invite all those institutions that can help; various NGOs and associations active in the community; we invite business sector; all those who, for example have their shops around that area, or simply are interested in investing in our project. #07

Respondent #07 felt that her organisation had different rates of success in the different localities, but that her overall impression was that there was a lot of willingness and personal responsibility for helping things change for the better in the local communities.

Senior conservation officer (#02) expressed her concern about how built heritage conservation sector in Serbia was organised, as "it was designed as it was in the 19th century". Respondent explained that due to austerity measures aiming to cut public expenditures, Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation in Serbia have fixed numbers of employees. "Entire segments that would be good to work in built heritage conservation sector are missing". In terms of organisation, respondent felt that heritage conservation sector was organised as it should be and the collaborations should take place in the way they already do, vertically and on the principle of subordination.

Policy incoherence and lacunae

Senior planning officer (#03) felt that due to the lack of mechanisms that would ensure integration of the heritage conservation into the spatial planning, legislation was rather interpreted than implemented. The respondent also expressed her concern about the incongruence between the Planning and Construction Act and the Cultural Heritage Act in terms of the tools and mechanisms which these two laws imposed. In the respondent's view, those tools and mechanisms are not synchronised and often lead to controversies in practice. Furthermore, the respondent thought that in order to accommodate new demands, actors in the policy process sometimes shift their roles and mandates. Respondent did not provide a detail explanation on how this takes place but felt that process of collaboration with the spatial planners differs from one locality to another.

Most of the comments about the policy lacunae were made by the conservation officers who had many specific suggestions about what has not been included or taken into consideration in the existing legislation. While there was a general satisfaction with the spatial planning legislation, respondents spoke in detail about policy lacunae in relation to heritage conservation policies and practice; specifically respondents #02, #03 and #04.

Problems with the methodology and the professional approach

Senior conservation officer (#04) emphasised that Cultural Heritage Act does not list regular maintenance and preventive conservation as methods of the cultural heritage preservation. Also, as one of the key issues of policy lacunae, the senior planning officer (#03) reported that the law doesn't include a *conservation plan* as an instrument of the area-based conservation which creates numerous problems for conservation professionals. In the respondent's view, although Planning and Construction Act provided a platform for the integration of heritage conservation into spatial development strategies, further instruments and mechanisms were still missing.

Another key issue that has been mentioned by the senior conservation officer (#02) was that no institution in Serbia was in charge of conducting research related to the built heritage. Respondent thought that historical and ethnographical studies of the individual designated cultural properties and conservation areas were missing in the current practice which has a negative impact on the cultural properties' significance and values assessments.

One more problem reported by the respondent (#02) concerned the acceptance of the technical surveys. The present hierarchy of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation in Serbia (local, regional, and national level) impose problems in terms of control. At the moment only the Ministry of Culture was a higher institution from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia, and they could not verify the quality of the technical surveys made by this institution as that was not their role. Acceptance of the technical surveys, by the law, has to be done by the institution that is higher in the hierarchy. As local and regional Institutes are in charge for the cultural properties of moderate and high value (grade II and III) their technical surveys were verified by the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia. Cultural properties of exceptional value were the responsibility of the Institute for

Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia and there is no other institution that is higher in the hierarchy that could verify and accept their technical surveys.

Professional licences for conservation professionals

Senior planning officer (#03) and senior conservation officer (#02) reported their concerns about the professional licences for conservation professionals. Chartered heritage conservation professionals do not exist in a professional licensing context in Serbia at the moment.

We have an engineering license issued by the Engineering Chamber. These are licenses for civil engineering, but we don't have a license for the field of heritage conservation, nor do we have a status for the architect-conservator as a person licensed to do that job. #03

At the moment, in order to work on architectural conservation, professionals have to pass the State Exam, to be a chartered architect and to progress to the status of the architect-conservator at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. In practice that proved to be too hard for many and therefore an insufficient number of professionals were fully qualified to do the job.

No tax relief for the cultural properties' owners

Senior conservation officer (#02) thought that owners of the cultural properties were not stimulated to invest in their properties nor they got any help from the State. Yet they were expected by the law to invest in their properties. There were no mechanisms aimed at helping the owners, no tax relief or incentives.

You own a cultural property and we [Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia] always demand something from you. We do not offer a favourable loan, and constantly inform you that it is your responsibility to maintain the property. #02

In such a situation, owners of the cultural properties sometimes decide not to ask for necessary permits and do the works without the approval.

Single-monument conservation versus area-based conservation

Three respondents, #02, #03 and #04, thought that there are no adequate mechanisms for area-based conservation to be implemented in practice. In their opinion, this was further exacerbated because conservation professionals were more interested in single monument conservation than area-based conservation.

The lack of mechanisms and instruments for preparation of comprehensive conservation plans further contributed to single-monuments' conservation to prevail over area-based conservation. Respondents also thought that conservation were more reluctant to work on individual cultural properties than to consider conservation area as a whole.

Conservation approaches are more likely to be as follows – experts deal with the individual cultural properties within the conservation area, and they do not treat that conservation area as an entity. #04

The senior conservation officer (#04) reported that before Cultural Heritage Act was adopted in 1994 designated conservation areas did not have to have strictly defined borders. In many cases, that was still the case because the decisions were not yet updated. This causes problems in practice, especially because it was necessary for planning strategies to have precise borders of the conservation areas.

Discussion

The landmark moment for the Yugoslav spatial planning legislation was for certain the adoption of the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering in 1971 that introduced comprehensive spatial planning model. With the subsequent laws in the Republic of Serbia – the Planning and Spatial Management Act (1974) and the Cultural Heritage Act (1977) – it begins the new phase in spatial planning which identified built heritage conservation as one of the sectors that had to be included in the planning strategies (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). Following debates among scholars and professionals over time, subsequent legal provisions were adopted to further assist practice of the comprehensive spatial planning in Serbia. Centralisation of power, as well as, political and economic instability in the 1990s had a negative impact, but in the 2000s policy went through significant changes. In particular, much has been made

to devolve power to the local level and to reintroduce Municipal and City planning as the major units of planning. Driven by the evolving forms of neoliberal spatial governance, spatial planning in Serbia favoured competitiveness, the new forms of partnerships and networks, and the promotion of the local level as the level where the interventions take place. Still, inherited problems persisted (Stojkov, 2007; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004).

Returning to the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, the empirical evidence presented here offers some important insights. However, most of the insights presented here refer to the conservation practice because planning practice is mostly happening at the local level and only some limited insights could be observed here.

Governance of the historic city centres in Serbia is characterized by both *procedural formality and fragmentation*. The analysis revealed that although responsibility for conservation of the historic environment is entrusted to the Regional Institutes for Cultural Heritage Protection, governance of the historic city centres has been managed exclusively through planning documents. Fuzzy distribution of responsibilities, departmentalism and fragmentation are only some of the problems. Reasons for those are often found in a lack of and resistance to institutional reforms, politization of the institutions and inconsistent legal provisions. Departmentalism represents concentration of power and resources within clearly defined departments in order to reinforce self-interests of its members (Kavanagh & Richards, 2001). Departmentalism is also a reflection of the institutionalisation of welfare structure in terms of the division of responsibilities (professionalization), especially when that institutionalisation happens over a prolonged period of time (Alexander, 1995; Halpert, 1982). As a consequence, departments, or its constituent parts, become separated and fragmented.

The current study found two distinct causes for departmentalism and fragmentation of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, namely, domain defensiveness and professional defensiveness. *Domain defensiveness* in this case is characterised by the tendency towards protection of the organisational authority, and perception of being powerless to induce changes. All those act as protective mechanisms in terms that they prevent any boundary permeability that would allow for interdependencies and internal adjustment necessary for coordinative endeavours to happen. Moreover, organisations are struggling for their domination, autonomy, power domains and resources (Halpert, 1982; Castells, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Whetten & Leung,

1979). Those are observed through the reported interactions of the planning and conservation professionals.

On the other hand, *professional defensiveness* here is a direct consequence of the lack of shared understanding of policy issues, no culture of collaboration, professional inertia, and the lack of willingness to learn. Stead and Meijers (2009) assert that when shared understanding of policy issues is absent, it opens the doors for professional defensiveness. Here, the respondents reported even on the fragmentation within the departments in terms of monopoly of some conservation professionals when they alone spend whole career working on the one cultural property only. At a more general level of explanation, it could be concluded that actors who expect a change to result in a loss of power will stick to tradition, while those who expect to gain power will be more inclined to welcome change. Here, non-governmental actors show some potential to act as the 'change agents', while governmental agencies are defensive of their domains. In addition, the low level of professional knowledge and expertise in the field of built heritage conservation is directly linked to the resistance to accept and get informed about the advances in the field, as well as the inertia in respect to learning and establishing professional collaborations.

The analysis indicated that there are some contextual factors that affect policy coordination, namely, political interference and culture of short-term planning. That creates a sort of volatility in terms of uncertainty and instability that affects long-term planning (Halpert, 1982). Such unpredictability makes organisations and policy actors – in this case mostly in conservation sector – more aware of themselves and of the need for survival which could inhibit policy coordination. In return, that contributes to reinforcing boundaries and professional defensiveness, and in this case the 'blame game'.

Besides departmentalism and fragmentation, structural characteristics could also play an inhibiting role in term of policy coordination. This study found that the two sectors – conservation and planning –, as they were institutionalised separately and only in the 1970s begin to collaborate due to the introduction of comprehensive spatial planning, have different structural characteristics that in return cause difficulties in collaboration. As a consequence, conservation and planning sectors represent two distinct *organisational fields* (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Actors in organisational fields are governed by shared rules and meanings; those allow them to understand the behaviour of organisations in the field (Fligstein, 2007) and those display functional differentiation (Lopes, 2008; Scott, 2008; Machado-da-Silva, Guarido Filho, &

Rossoni, 2006). On one hand, conservation has been developed as a hierarchical, vertical sector with the clear separation and interdependencies between its levels: the Ministry of Culture, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia and the network of regional Institutes. On the other hand, responsibility for local spatial planning has been entrusted to the Municipalities who formulate the planning documents and are responsible for their implementation. Therefore, it could be concluded that there is a *structural incongruence* between the two sectors and that could cause role ambiguity, fragmentation of authority, unpredictability, and even lack of order (DiMaggio, 1992; Machado & Burn, 1998). In the times when issues are becoming increasingly 'cross-cutting', and do not fit the ministerial boxes into which governments, and policy analysts, tend to place policies, structural incongruence could interfere with or block the capacity of the organizations to act effectively together, unless problems are dealt with.

Another important insight regards *the distribution of authority and responsibilities*. Planning documents reflect on how the authority and resources has been distributed as they focus on representation of power, rights and responsibilities, and look at the roles various actors have in planning (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Prior, 2003). The empirical evidence demonstrated fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities therefore pointing to possible lack of the accountability. *Accountability* is important issue in ensuring implementation of any plan. Normally, accountability is achieved through an institutional foundation (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). For instance, legally binding sets of rules that oblige policy actor or an institution to act on behalf of someone or for a public interest, or in representative democracies, where elected representatives are held accountable for implementation of agenda previously agreed on. From the empirical data analysed here, it was not possible to conclude that there are clear lines of accountability. On the contrary, implementation has been entrusted to the institutions such as, the National Assembly, the Government, and the Ministries in charge without further reference to possible mechanisms of control. The 2009 Study on the Permitted Development, Maintenance and Use of Designated Cultural Properties and Cultural Properties Enjoying Prior Protection went even further calling for implementation in a partnership with the national and foreign organisations, as well as private and civil sector, but failed to explain how those are planned to be realised.

In sum, it can be said that legislative framework in Serbia is not supportive of policy coordination in the process of governance of the historic environment. That is due to the numerous problems reported here, such as the departmentalism, structural

fragmentation, domain and professional defensiveness, structural incongruence, and fuzzy distribution of authorities and responsibilities that leads to unclear lines of accountability. All of them contribute to difficulties in trying to achieve the three preconditions for effective policy coordination, namely, boundary-spanning, interdependence and internal adjustments. Also, low capacity for ensuring coordinative endeavour is due to the history of bad relations and animosity that exists between conservation and planning sectors and that contributes to formation of lock-in mechanism that is hard to overtake. The analysis revealed that personal contacts and friendships could help in establishing collaboration especially between the governmental and civil actors. However, there is insufficient evidence that that could be the case with conservation and planning sectors as well.

Conclusion

This Chapter has provided a background on the development of heritage conservation legislation in Serbia and outlined specific social relations underpinning the practice in this field. It also outlined the main policy changes that supported that process and has mapped some of the key stages, policy paradigms and ideas involved in the production of heritage conservation legislation and practice. Analysis offered in this Chapter has been supported by the empirical evidence consisting of the policy documents and interviews conducted with the various professionals whose work has been closely related to planning and conservation of the historic environment in Serbia. It outlined that heritage conservation legislation has been developed separately from spatial planning and that it only has begun to be integrated in 1970s. Still, in practice, heritage conservation and spatial planning proved to be not sufficiently integrated, and conflicts and tensions arising between the two were hampering their joint endeavours. It also demonstrated that organisations involved in this process show signs of inertia, lack of long-term planning, domain and professional defensiveness and limited collaboration capacity. There are even structural factors that had a negative impact on the policy coordination such as departmentalism, structural fragmentation and structural incongruence. Furthermore, the inconsistent and insufficient funding available for conservation and fuzzy distribution of authorities and responsibilities that leads to unclear lines of accountability both put conservation areas in peril.

The following part – *The case studies* – will proceed by presenting the three case studies as stand-alone analytical chapters. The case-studies – Subotica, Pančevo and Kragujevac – are needed in order to appreciate the full complexity of narratives of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia at the local level. They provide a strong comparative advantage with respect to the ‘depth’ of the analysis (Given 2008). That ‘depth’ is reflected by their empirical completeness, conceptual richness and ability to construct internal validity. Also, they are the building blocks of the theory this research is aiming to produce.

PART 3: The Case Studies

CHAPTER 5: Subotica Case Study

Introduction

Subotica is a capital city of the region nowadays known as 'North Bačka' situated in the north of Serbia, at the border with Hungary and Subotica is its capital city. The North Bačka region makes up only about one-fifth of the historical Bačka region that spread through nowadays Serbia and Hungary. Throughout the history, Subotica often changed hands between Austria, Hungary, Serbia and the Ottoman Empire (Aladžić, 2010; Pušić, 1987). As Subotica often changed its proprietors its name changed often too, so it was called Zabatka, Szent-Maria, Maria-Theresiopolis, Maria Theresienstadt, Szabadka and finally from 1920 on Subotica. Great migrations were common and frequent so Serbs, Hungarians, Jews, Germans, Slovaks, Bunjevci and others settled here.

In 1743, Subotica – then at the territory of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy – acquired a status of a Free Treasury Town from Maria Theresa, and in 1779 became Free Royal Town (Bačić, 1998; Pušić, 1987). This status granted Subotica greater autonomy and accelerated its development. In the 1918, the Bačka region was split between Hungary and what would later become Yugoslavia, giving birth to the North Bačka Region. During the Cold War, North Bačka and therefore Subotica as well, became even more separated from Hungary as the Yugoslav-Hungarian border also became border with the Eastern Block (Krstić B. , 2008).

Nowadays, the City of Subotica has a population of 105.681 inhabitants and encompasses an area of 82 km² (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2012). The City's population has increased 40% since the Second World War which corresponded to the overall population increase both in Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia in the same period. Formerly the largest city in Vojvodina, Subotica is now the second largest city, following Novi Sad, Vojvodina's capital city. It is also the fifth largest city in Serbia after Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, and Kragujevac. It is a multiethnic city and according to 2011 Census the largest ethnic groups are Hungarians (32.66%), Serbs

(29.86%) and Croats (9.18%). The dominant religion is Roman Catholicism (63.02%), followed by Orthodox Christianity (25.96%) and Protestantism (1.88%). In 2010, retail and wholesale generated 46.10% of the revenue within the territory of Subotica Municipality (Regionalna privredna komora Subotice, 2010). In terms of the employment structure, two sectors were dominant with over half of the workers being employed there – manufacturing, 26.4%, and private sector 24.4%.



Picture 3: The main pedestrian street in Subotica called 'Korzo'

The planning context

The planned development of Subotica started in 1779 when Subotica acquired a status of a Free Royal Town (Aladžić, 2007b). The new Statute of the City was centred on the physical planning and development of the town defining the separation of the 'inner city' from the periphery with the fortified walls that were planned to be built around the 'inner city' (Aladžić, 2007b; Bačić, 1995). In 1819 Ferenc Skultety was appointed as a Royal Commissioner in Subotica. In the next years, the most significant steps were taken in order to ensure a planned development of the City (Aladžić, 2010). He appointed a City Architect and formed the Urban Design Commission. In 1820 Commission adopted *the Urban Regulation Plan* that included

more than 4,000 of the existing buildings (Aladžić, 2007b; Bačić, 1998). The Plan divided the City into the 'inner city' and five suburbs, and defined the regulation of the main streets. It also set the first *Rules on the Permitted Development* related to the minimum and maximum height of the buildings, position of the building on the plot, design of the buildings, decoration of the facades as well as materials that could be used for the construction (Pušić, 1987).

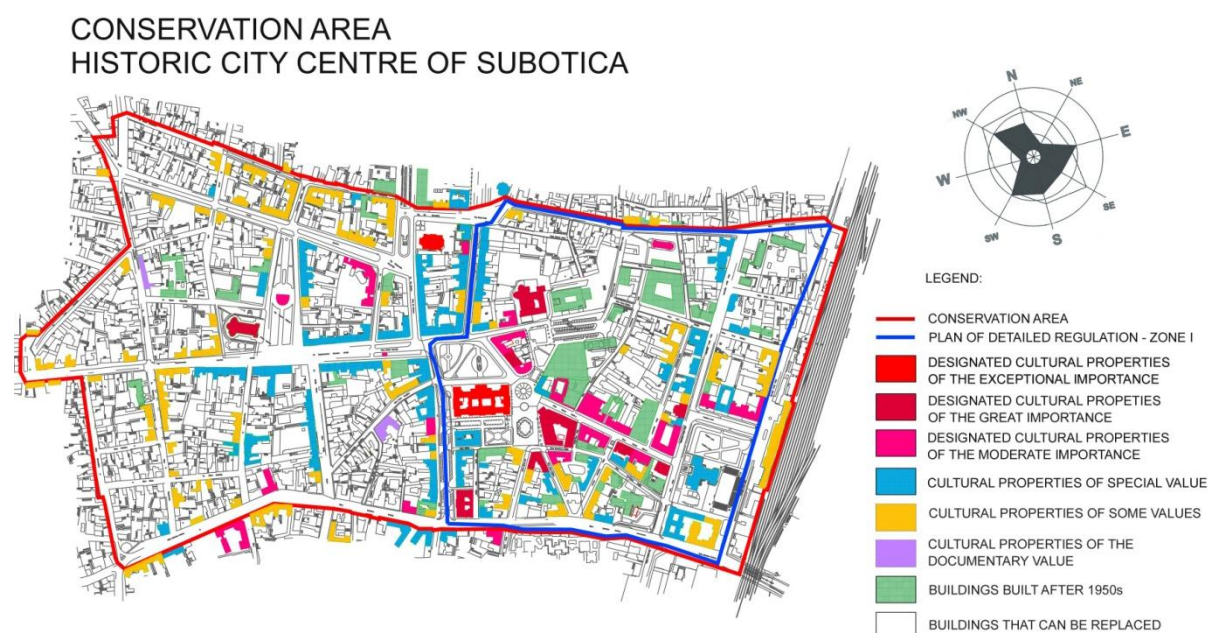
As Subotica city spread, the City Urban Regulation Plan became obsolete and in 1862 had been replaced by *the Building Rule Book* (Aladžić, 2010). As the Royal Regency Council in Vienna was not satisfied with this document, in 1876 Subotica adopted *Building Regulation*, a legal document aimed to control physical development of Subotica, as well as materials used in order to ensure the quality of the newly built buildings (Aladžić, 2007a). This Regulation was in force until 1938 *Building Regulation* for the Municipality of Subotica although after the First World War, Subotica became a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Aladžić, 2008).

The first Town Planning Institute after the Second World War in Subotica was founded in 1963. Until then, planning was a responsibility of the federal level (JP Zavod za urbanizam, 2012). The Institute was registered as a public enterprise in charge for land-use and urban planning of the City and Municipality. In 1960s, continuous and planned development of the City was interrupted when the first highraised buildings were built in the city centre in 1960s – the school for vocational learning, hotel Patria and the department store (Krstić B. , 2006).

In 2005, the Assembly of Subotica City Council extended the role of the Institute to working on projects for other clients, business consulting, an Environmental Impact Assessment, making reports on a strategic assessment of plans on the environment and implementation of quality systems through the implementation of technological processes in spatial and urban planning (JP Zavod za urbanizam, 2012). When formal decision to proceed with the preparation of any planning document is made by the Assembly of Subotica City Council, the Town Planning Institute is entrusted to work on it and collaborate with all the institutions required by the law in the preparation of the Plan, including the Regional Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. Once the Plan has been approved by the Planning Commission whose members are selected by the Assembly of Subotica City Council, the City Council formally adopts the Plan and takes the responsibility for its implementation.

Subotica conservation area

Subotica historic city centre was designated as a conservation area by Subotica Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in 1986 (Međupštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Subotica, 1986). In 1991 designated conservation area has been categorised as a cultural monument of great importance (Izvršno veće AP Vojvodina, 1991).



Picture 4: Subotica conservation area (Source: the 2006 General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020)

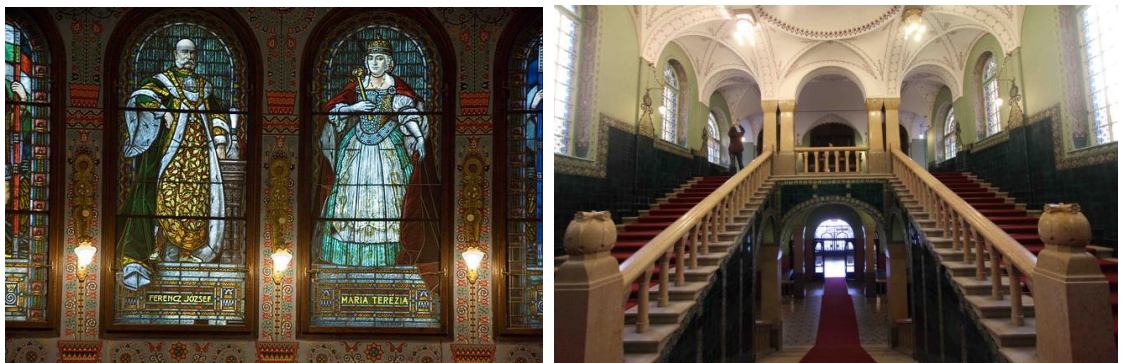
The conservation area is located in the central part of Subotica and encompasses the area of 80 hectares. The Designation Decision from 1991 did not include the values assessment of the historic city centre of Subotica, but implied as one of its value the continuity of Subotica development from the 14th century (Izvršno veće AP Vojvodina, 1991). The oldest structure present is the Franciscan Abbey built on the ruins of the 15th century castle. The three central squares – the Freedom Square, Square of the Republic, and Tzar Jovan Nenad's Square – are at the place where the four main roads intersects (see Picture 5).

Two cultural properties are of the exceptional importance, the Synagogue, designated in 1987 (Picture 5 and 6) and the Town Hall, designated in 1967 (Picture 7 and 8). Another ten cultural properties are listed as cultural properties of great importance: City Library, Manojlović Palace, the National Theatre, Đorđe Manojlović House, Rajhl Palace, St. Roke Chapel, Roman Catholic Church, Ostojić Palace, Franciscan Abbey,

and the Yellow House. However, the most well-known historic buildings are: the Town Hall, the Synagogue and the National Theatre.



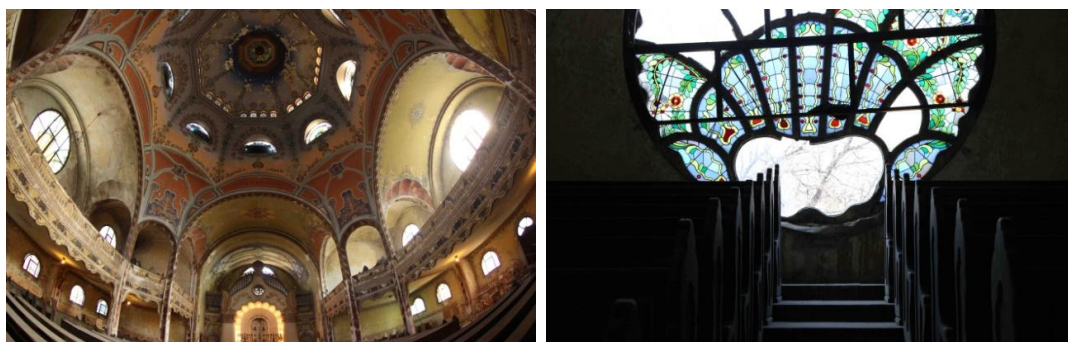
Picture 5: The Town Hall and the three central squares in Subotica (aerial photo) – Square of the Republic, Tzar Jovan Nenad's Square, and the Freedom Square (clockwise). Photograph by Lorant Orban



Picture 6: Interior of the Town Hall – the stained glass windows and the main staircase



Picture 7: The Synagogue in Subotica



Picture 8: Interior of the Synagogue in Subotica – the dome and the stained glass window

Unlike in other towns, in Subotica the City Hall dominates the city centre instead of a church or a cathedral. The City Hall is built in 1912 in the Art Nouveau style (Međupštinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Subotica, 1986; Krstić B. , 2006). It is flanked by a park with a fountain and a vast square. Originally it was a classic style building characterized by six Corinthian columns. Across the Tzar Jovan Nenad's Square there is the National Theatre that is undergoing a major reconstruction. On the Eastern side of the square there is a neo-baroque building of The Public Library. The Emperor Jovan Nenad Monument is in the middle of the square. Wider streets which radiate from the three central squares – the Freedom Square, Square of the Republic, and Tzar Jovan Nenad's Square – include the pedestrian street Korzo, Štrosmajer Street, Rudić Street and Matko Vuković Street.

Most of the buildings along those roads are generally three storeys high, with some higher buildings. In the ground floors usually there are shops and other kinds of commercial outlets. The road patterns are generally irregular and the main roads in addition have cycling paths. Open spaces could be found around the religious buildings. Neighbourhoods with the distinctive urban character are those around the Town Hall, Synagogue, pedestrian street “Korzo”, Braće Radić Street, and the Square of Holocaust Victims situated in the western part of the historic city centre (Picture 9). Residential areas at the borders of the conservation area mostly consist of two storeys high residential buildings.



Picture 9: The Square of Holocaust Victims

The National Theatre as a flagship project

The most controversial flagship project in Subotica was the reconstruction of the National Theatre, a listed cultural property of great importance and one of the oldest theatres in Serbia. Listed as a cultural property of the great importance, the National Theatre was one of the oldest theatres in Serbia. Although the idea of its extension originates from the 1980s, the final decision was made in 2007. The project soon became the most ambitious cultural project in Subotica ever. The idea was to create the building that would consist of the authentic elements of the previous building and a new, modern building that could accommodate the needs of the contemporary theatre. Political elites advocated it as a project that would have potential to be a

driving force of region's development similarly to the Guggenheim *Museum in Bilbao*. Quickly it became political issue that contained a lot of disagreement.

In 2007, Subotica City Council made the decision to proceed with works. The new building would consist of the authentic elements of the previous building – entrance portal and the monumental stairs – and a new, modern building that would be able to accommodate the needs of the contemporary theatre. This project generated a lot of disapproval from the public and soon after the plan has been revealed, a campaign started.



Picture 10: The National Theatre before (2007, left, photograph by Saša Stefanović) and after the works started (2009, right, photograph by Milomir Stanković)

Decision to start the works was made quickly and without any public consultations amid the petitions and huge public campaign against the demolition both at the local and international level. Nevertheless, local government proceeded with the works. Announcing the start of the project, Serbian Secretary of State for Culture highlighted the importance of strengthening the links between Hungary, Croatia and Serbia. She asserted the importance National Theatre will have in that process as it is going to be “the only theatre where actors will create and work in three different European languages, which will make it unique in all of Europe.” Taken as a pride of the region, the new National Theatre soon became the biggest investment ever funded from the National Investment Plan. Although financial problems due to the recession hampered the realisation of the project, a wide political support is still present as the project enters the final phase of its realisation.



Picture 11: The National Theatre in Subotica (October 2015, photograph by Tothasze)

The empirical evidence

The empirical evidence used in this case-study comprise from the policy documents and interviews. Policy documents used in drawing the findings are: the *2008 Subotica Spatial Development Plan* (JP Zavod za urbanizam Opštine Subotica, 2008), the *2006 General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020* (Javno preduzeće Zavod za urbanizam Opštine Subotica, 2006), the *2010 Detailed Regulation Plan for Subotica City Centre – Zone I* (JP Zavod za urbanizam Opštine Subotica, 2010), and the *2011 Detailed Regulation Plan for Subotica City Centre – Zone III* (JP Zavod za urbanizam Opštine Subotica, 2011).

The analysis of policy documents has been supported with the evidence obtained from eight in-depth interviews conducted with the various actors involved in the policy process of the historic city centre governance in Subotica (see Appendix 2 for the complete list of respondents). Preliminary talks with key actors and informants made it clear who were the main stakeholders in the process. Twelve key actors were approached for the interviews but three of them were unable to be interviewed. Nevertheless, stakeholders interviewed represent all but two Departments involved in the process, namely the Local Planning Commission and the City Office for Local Economic Development; one planning officer, two conservation officers, two

respondents working for the non-governmental organisations, one respondent from the Subotica Land Development Agency, and two respondents working at the City Council – the Department for Building and Construction Permits, and the Department for Construction and Building Inspection.

The interviews have been conducted in November 2010 and February 2011. Specific guidance notes for the interview were mailed to the respondents beforehand and the interviews themselves took between 50 minutes and 1 hour and 30 minutes. Several respondents discussed their views from more than one position as they were involved in the process through more than one organisation.

Governance of Subotica historic city centre: policies and ideas

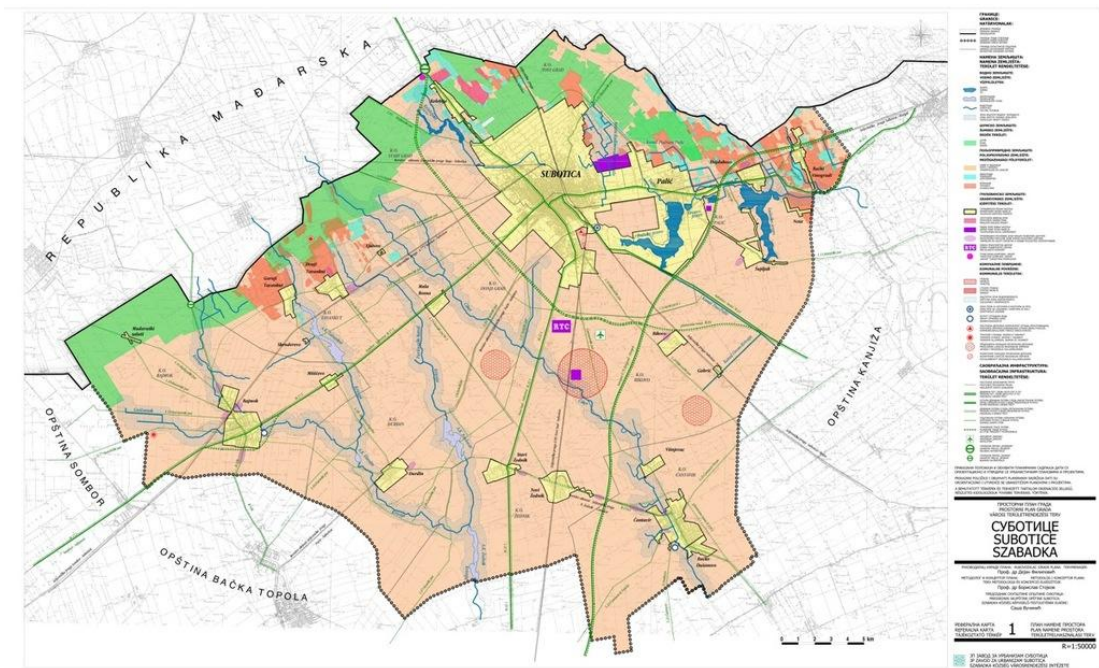
In the early 2000s, a new Democrat Party Government initiated a change of the existing planning and construction legislation by returning powers to the local level. As the *Planning and Construction Act* passed in 2003, it triggered a ‘new wave’ of planning strategies proliferation throughout Serbia, and Subotica was no different. In 2004 Subotica City Council initiated the work on *Subotica Spatial Development Plan* that was consequently adopted at the beginning of 2006 for the area of the Municipality of Subotica. *General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020* was adopted in 2006 for the urban area of Subotica and Palić. Due to the changes in *Planning and Construction Act* later in 2006, *Subotica Spatial Development Plan* had to be amended and adopted again in 2008. *Detailed Regulation Plans for Subotica City Centre – Zone I and Zone III* – were adopted in 2010 and 2011. As the historic city centre has been divided into three zones, so far only two Detailed Regulation Plans have been adopted.

Policy problems

The main planning document that sets up the policy direction was Subotica Spatial Development Plan (SSDP). In its overall structure, the SSDP (Picture 12) is systematically offering all the elements of the planning process – purpose, assessment of the current situation, objectives, strategy and implementation. The main purpose of the SSDP (p. 1) was to “identify solutions, guidelines, policies and

proposals for the protection, planning, development and use of key resources and values of the territory of Subotica Municipality.“ In order to do so, three dimension of the development were singled out: spatial, economic, and socio-cultural. Institutional context was also taken into consideration in order to ensure horizontal and vertical coordination of planning and implementation of the activities. The methodology involved application of the following principles: induction (detailed understanding of the area), sustainability (careful treatment of the resources with the particular attention to the non-renewable resources and values), democracy (transparent, open process and discussions with all stakeholders), reality (defining strategic goals, operational tasks and priorities that can be achieved in a realistic period of time), flexibility (taking into consideration various interests of the community), and organic (bottom-up) development (goal setting, planning concepts and solutions that arise from the local system of values).

The SSDP identified the Synagogue as a most important cultural property whose importance transgress Subotica as a city and extends to the region. As a cultural property Synagogue was put on the World Monument Watch List of 100 most endangered cultural properties several times. Two other cultural properties within the conservation area that are of the importance for Subotica were the Town Hall and Rajhl Palace.



Picture 12: The area encompassed by the Subotica Spatial Development Plan (Source: the 2008 Subotica Spatial Development Plan)

The SSDP identified numerous issues and problems related to professional approaches to conservation area protection. Most of them were related to the work of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. The built heritage conservation was seen as mostly passive and reduced to the listing of the cultural properties, preparing technical documentation and issuing Rules on the Permitted Development. However, active forms of conservation:

....are rare and are often carried out in parallel with the devastation of the cultural property, or modern construction methods are applied instead of traditional techniques, due to which conservation area is losing its original character. (SSDP, p.30)

One of the identified problems was the monopoly position that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection has in the decision-making process. The SSDP identified the reconstruction of the National Theatre to be a highly controversial decision that led the wider public to lose their confidence in the built heritage conservation sector. The SSDP also identified mistrust between, on the one hand, owners of the cultural properties, and on the other, conservation officers as something that caused a problem, as the Rules on Permitted Development are often too strict and impose costs that many of the owners could not pay.

A professional approach to built heritage conservation is thought to be still predominantly based on the single monument protection. However, “protection of the single monuments cannot preserve the character of the conservation area” (SSDP, p.30). The lack of a mechanism to ensure area-based conservation was perceived as a problem that SSDP should deal with.

The most important cultural properties have a status of being ‘untouchable’. By ‘untouchable’, it was meant that they were so important that no one wanted to take the responsibility of making any important decisions in relation to these cultural properties. At the same time, some of them were close to collapsing and under threat of being replaced which opened the doors to speculation as to why that was allowed to happen.

Some of the monuments as the National Theater or the Fekete Bath, due to hesitation, collapsed to the point that revitalization was almost impossible. Such treatment of cultural properties, on the other side, presents an opportunity for speculation and the campaign to build modern ambitious projects in its place that

will forever destroy invaluable cultural heritage of Subotica, as it is currently happening with the National Theatre. (SSDP, p. 30)

As one of the problems, the SSDP identified the lack of conservation politics in terms of long-term planning of the activities related to the built heritage.

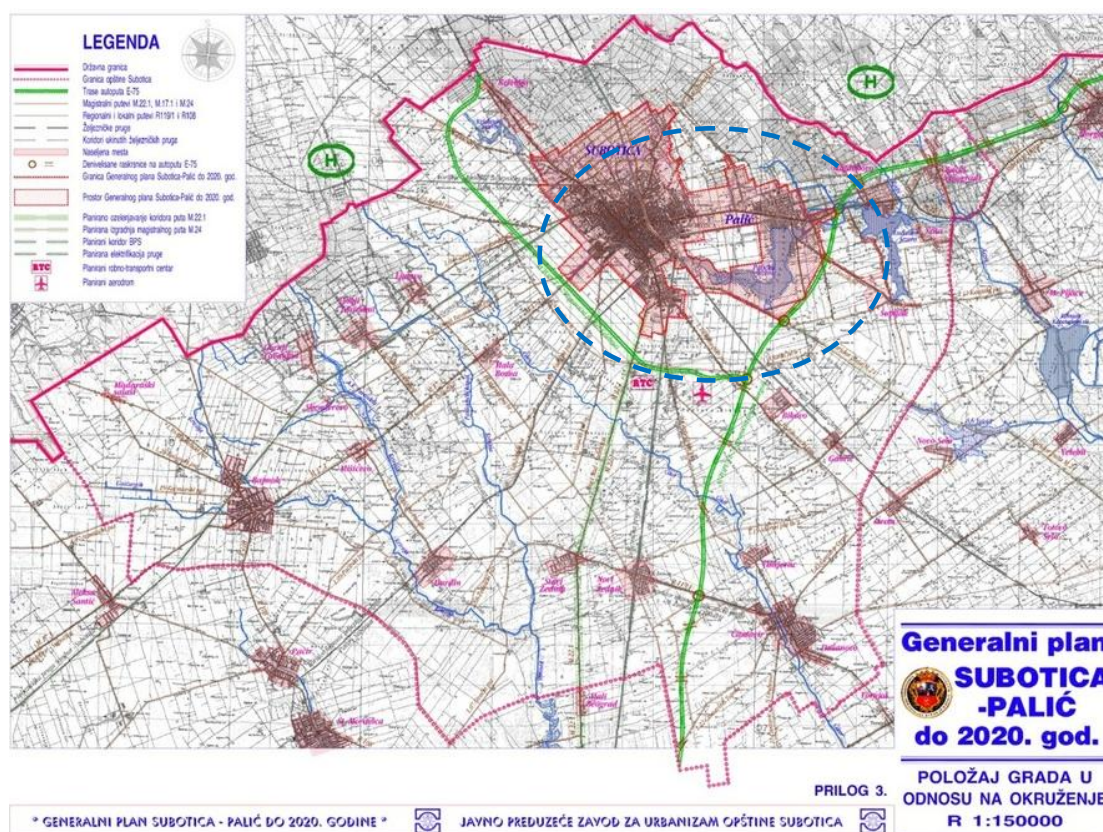
The SSDP expressed a concern that a turn to market-led development would potentially increase development pressures and endanger conservation area's integrity.

The new architecture, as well as urban design, is in complete contrast to the traditional architecture and the urban patterns preserved from the time of proclamation of Subotica for a Free Royal City in 1779. (SSDP, p. 31)

The second planning document that sets up the policy direction was the General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić (GUP). The decision to start the work on the GUP has been made in 1999, but due to the political changes in the country, the new decision followed in 2002. Further changes in planning legislation in Serbia postponed the adoption of the GUP, as the document had to be synchronised with the new legislation on several occasions. Finally in 2006, Assembly of the City Council of Subotica adopted the Plan (Picture 13). As the GUP was adopted before the SSDP, there were some inconsistencies between these two plans.

The GUP suggested that the concept of protection and preservation of the cultural properties and the generated values of urban space, as an integral part of cultural heritage, should be implemented in two ways: (1) through planning strategies, and (2) through legal protection under the Cultural Heritage Act.

The Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection prepared a study entitled 'Measures to protect immovable cultural heritage for the General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020' in 2005. This study set up the guidelines for preservation, maintenance and use of cultural heritage, including very detailed Rules on the Permitted Development. The Study also discussed the direction of planning of the historic city centre of Subotica.



Picture 13: The area encompassed by the General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020 (Source: the 2006 General Urban Plan Subotica-Palić 2020)

The GUP set up a buffer zone around the conservation area, whose boundaries coincide with and include plots with buildings that are adjacent to the regulatory line of the streets that surround conservation area of Subotica historic city centre. In order to protect and enhance the values of the protected conservation area, the GUP introduced (1) rules and conditions for protection of the urban patterns and structures, both for conservation area and its buffer zone; (2) Rules on the Permitted Development for individual cultural properties; and (3) guidelines for the new buildings built within the conservation area and buffer zone.

Policy solutions and distribution of authority

One of the six operational goals of the SSDP – *strengthening the identity of the Municipality* – placed heritage conservation high at the list of priorities:

Maintaining and improving the identity and character of Subotica Municipality, enhancing links with the architectural heritage, improving the quality of protection and revitalization of the cultural heritage. (SSDP, p. 111)

The Plan identified three priority projects to be realised by 2011 (listed in the Table 15).

Table 15: Priorities identified in the 2008 Subotica Spatial Development Plan

Project	Organisation in charge	Financing
Revitalisation of the Synagogue (project of the trans-national importance)	Fondation 'SOS Sinagogue' Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection, Subotica	International foundations Municipality of Subotica Republic of Serbia
Revitalisation of the historic city centre of Subotica (project of the trans-national importance)	Subotica Land Development Agency	Municipality of Subotica
Cultural trail - Civic architecture at the turn of XIX to XX century (project of the trans-national importance)	Municipality of Subotica	Republic of Serbia EU funding for trans-national and border regions' cooperation

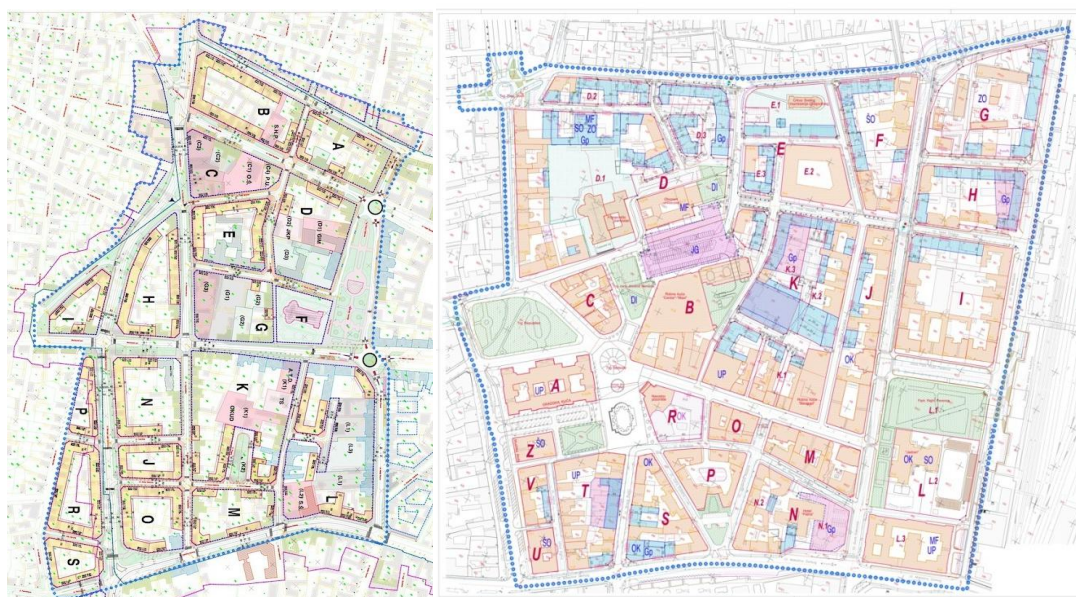
The SSDP identified very detail activities and tasks that needed to be completed in order to ensure realisation of the main goals.

Achievement of the sectoral objectives implies awareness of the value of cultural heritage through all community activities. It is necessary that this awareness in the future development is not a limiting but stimulating factor. (SSDP, p. 72)

The SSDP did not identify which actors would take the responsibility to implement the main goal of the plan but assumed that responsibility rest on “the engagement of all stakeholders in the development, user of the area, investors, property owners and public services of the City Council” (SSDP, p. 72).

The main policy actors in the planning process have become abstracted in the SSDP. Namely, the named ‘author’ was Subotica City Council, which did not produce the Plan, but rather assumed authorship by endorsing it. The Plan itself has become the agent of most future actions: ‘maintaining’, ‘improving’, ‘enabling’ all preferred forms of development and access to services. ‘Planning’ was never presented functionally as a process or an activity undertaken by identifiable people. Through such discursive means, responsibility for planning was entirely institutionalized – in the discipline, in the statutory authority, and in its products (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Tett & Wolfe,

1991). Most remarkably, another agent – local government – has become not simply abstracted in the SSDP, but completely invisible. Its only ‘human participants’ – and these were rarely invoked – were codified authorities and service providers.



Picture 14: Detail Regulation Plan, Zone III, and Zone I (Sources: the 2010 Detailed Regulation Plan for Subotica City Centre – Zone I, and the 2011 Detailed Regulation Plan for Subotica City Centre – Zone III)

Two Detail Regulation Plans (DRP) (Picture 14) – Zone I (2010) and Zone III (2011) – identified the set of activities that City of Subotica should complete in order to implement the plan. Those activities included various public sector construction works, such as the new buildings at the existing complex of the Infirmary, or works at the primary schools and preschools.

Similarly as the SSDP, the GUP did not identify which policy actors would take the responsibility to implement the activities as it did not name the institution in charge for the activities. Some of them it was easy to know who they are. For instance, in the cases where Building Permit was needed in order to carry out some public works, it would assume that the City Council was in charge for it. However, in some cases the proposed activity could not be realised by one organisation.

Theoretical concepts

Respondents’ understanding of the theoretical concepts related to heritage conservation or historic city centres’ governance emerged in the interviews although they were not asked in particular to comment on any of them. For clarity, the

researcher would ask the respondent to further elaborate on what he or she meant by any mentioned theoretical concept.

The most frequent concept highlighted in interviews was the concept of *heritage values*. It was mentioned while discussing either built heritage conservation legislation or valorisation (Avrami, Mason, & de la Tore, 2000; Council of Europe, 2005; de la Tore, 2002) of the protected historic city centre of Subotica.

Senior conservation officer (#10) used the following terms to describe the significance of the historic city centre: *historical, urban, stylistic, and architectural*. In the respondent's opinion, valorisation of the cultural properties within the conservation area encompassed those built until the mid 20th century only. The age of the cultural property was of the crucial importance according to the respondent. The characteristics of the style were considered when the detailed Rules on the Permitted development were made for the Plans of Detail Regulation.

Everything was defined in accordance with the evaluation of cultural property – the more significant building was, the stricter Rules on the Permitted Development were. #14

In addition, the senior conservation officer (#09) felt that buildings built in the style of Hungarian Secession are the most important ones in the historic city centre of Subotica, namely the City Hall, Synagogue, Rajhl Palace and Cinema Jadran.

However, the senior conservation officer (#10) reported that in the last few years, the Institute ceased the designation of single cultural properties and turned to area-based conservation through planning documents as historic city centre has been listed itself.

What we did, we carried out the evaluation of all the buildings within the conservation area, meaning that each building has been given a certain status, certain value. We have here three categories, in addition to cultural properties that are listed – buildings of special value, buildings of some value of and buildings without value. # 10

In contrast, the respondent from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) was very critical about the official approach to heritage valorisation suggesting that the most important aspect of area-based conservation was to protect the setting, therefore emphasising ambient value, as he puts it, as the most important value. The respondent used an example of the National Theatre to substantiate his critique of the

official approach to cultural properties' values assessment. He criticised the decision to demolish a greater part of the National Theatre building in order to build the new one while keeping only some elements of the original building.

Who is nowadays [in Subotica] eminent enough to say that one building built in 1850 is not architecturally significant? The value of the Theatre is not in its architecture or facade. Its value is historical. And as a memory of the city. Since 1852 until recently the plays were performed there. #14

The respondent thought that decision to keep only some parts of the National Theatre building had been made on what was seen to be architectural values of the building. Apart from opposing such an approach, the respondent added that there are historical and location values as well, as that building is important because it represents a memory of the City.

Representative from the non-governmental sector (#14) thought that heritage values that Institute identified were very narrowly set and insufficient to effectively protect the conservation area.

The way I understand preservation of the historic city centre and its surroundings, it is primarily important to protect the setting. It is not about the architectural value of cultural properties. # 14

The respondent criticised recent decisions of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection to allow demolition of some buildings claiming that their facades were not worthy of being kept. In the respondent's view, the importance of those buildings was that they were built by the most famous local secession architect Ferenc Rajhl.

Now they are going to pull down two buildings in Vasa Stajić Street because they are not architecturally valuable. How can that be when they were built by Ferenc Rajhl, one of the first well-known architect in the region, architect who designed Rajhl Palace, one of the first buildings built in the Secession style. #14

The respondent reported that it was the same with the National Theatre. The decision to demolish some parts of the building, in the respondent's view, were made because they were identified to be without value.

Another concept – heritage development – emerged in the interview with the project coordinator at the Centre for Jewish Art (#16). The respondent linked heritage

development with an economic use of cultural properties, and further thought that heritage tourism was an appropriate approach to development of the historic city centre of Subotica because *“Subotica is the city with the best preserved Hungarian heritage in Serbia”*. The respondent emphasised the existence of the myriad of cultural properties built in Hungarian Secession style, while many of them were demolished in Hungary. In the respondent’s opinion, Subotica is a multicultural city with many ethnic and religious groups living together, which can further contribute to tourism development.

Similarly, the senior planning officer (#08) thought that heritage development was linked to cultural development.

There are cities like Paris or Berlin where historic core is a part of new city. In my opinion, in Paris for instance, City Gate and the new part of the city are as important as Eiffel Tower. Both have exceptional cultural value. #08

However, respondent (#08) referred to the ‘conservatism’ of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection, stating that town planners *“should work on defeating that total conservatism in order to retain the course of city development”*.

Skills and organisational learning

Regarding skills, the senior planning officer (#08) thought that Town Planning Agency had a lot of experience and capacity to deal with various challenges and emerging problems as all of the employees have between 5 and 20 years of professional experience “in all aspects and segments of making of the Plans”. In contrast, the associate Professor in town planning at Subotica University (#15), who spoke from the perspective of the civil society activist, felt that anyone could become an expert in the built heritage conservation, regardless of previous education. He or she only “has to be employed at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection”, pass the exam and become a chartered conservation professional.

Three respondents (#08, #10 and #11) reported that problems with the investors and developers, that Subotica had in the past, influenced the Rules on the Permitted Development to be more detailed than before. Senior conservation officer (#10) explained that in the past, many investors found the way to build according to what was in the Rules on Permitted Development, but still to manoeuvre away from what the Institute expected the result would be. The problem was that the Rules were

written in terms of how many floors a building could have or how many windows could be on the facade. Investors would then extend the height of the floors, add a gallery and build a house much higher than expected. Similarly, they would sometimes install much bigger windows than on the other buildings in the conservation area. Respondent also reported that in order to better understand physical aspects of the conservation area, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection had made virtual 3D model of the whole area. The Head of the Department for Building and Construction Permits (#11) emphasised that Building Permits, as a result now contain very detail specifications on what was permitted and what was not in order to prevent deviations from what was planned. The respondent further reported that his Department aims to have the GIS database so that every interested party can get the information in minimal time possible.

Ideas

The changing understanding of the heritage values and valorisation (Avrami, Mason, & de la Tore, 2000; Council of Europe, 2005) had a great impact on the approach to built heritage preservation in Subotica. The flagship project of reconstruction of the National Theatre in Subotica raised many concerns in relation to how valorisation of the building should be made. There are two concepts related to values and valorisation of the cultural properties that – according to the respondents – influenced the change of professional approach to conservation area preservation.

The first approach advocates the primacy of the authenticity of the building materials over other values (ICOMOS, 1996; ICOMOS, 1994). Here, the authenticity of the building materials has been linked to the first materials used in building. The most important example was the National Theatre where only the parts of the building dated in 1850s were kept and the remaining parts were pulled down and replaced with a contemporary structure. The second concept links heritage values to age, and gives primacy to older cultural properties. In such circumstances, ‘younger’ cultural properties were not properly assessed and therefore in danger. Example of that taking place can be traced back in the decision on what properties could be demolished and replaced included in the DRP for zone 1 and 3. Both concepts had an influence on decision-making, but became a cause of disagreement and the reason for many disputes and critiques coming from the wider public. In the case of the National Theatre, it triggered a salvo of petitions and protests, as in the case of the DRP where

the round table initiated by the civil organisations caused the reconsideration of the decision.

Political and economic setting

Policy coordination is very much dependent on political commitment and ability to provide backing and leadership. Furthermore, professional interests, ideology and interests could affect the way policy problems are framed, what issues are prioritized over others, and power relations (Versteeg & Hajer, 2010). They could be dependent on local political culture and traditions (Fischer, 2000).

Political commitment, backing and leadership

Only the senior conservation officer (#09) spoke about the political commitment, backing and leadership. She felt that direction of the City development and its long-term development goals were responsibility of the local politicians. In the respondent's view, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection has no say, and therefore its role was not to take a leadership position but to wait for politicians to make decisions on the direction of the City development.

We are institution and those who are elected are in charge for the direction of the projects. [...] Then, the town planners and Town Planning Agency have to work it out. #09

The respondent (#09) also reported on the difficulties that Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection had in order to adjust its activities to support the development of the city centre. They thought that politicians show no commitment to decide on what would be a long-term vision for the city centre.

Of course, we [conservation officers] can propose something, but we cannot ourselves determine the direction of the strategy for city development. Certainly, the City Council should play a decisive role here. #09

Professional ideology, intentions and interests

The representative from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) thought that there was a power asymmetry between the conservation officers and politicians, investors or developers in favour of the latter. The respondent felt that political or economic interests could be powerful enough to change the decisions of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection.

Due to the pressure coming from the politicians, and so-called developers or investors, they [Regional Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection] very easily are giving up on the designated cultural properties. Then what's left of preservation. And why that story [single-monument designation] when the whole Subotica historic city centre is placed under legal protection. #14

The respondent was particularly critical about recent flagship projects in Subotica, such as the reconstruction of the National Theatre.

Senior conservation officer (#09) was of the opinion that becoming a part of Yugoslavia in 1918 for Subotica meant losing its importance. Throughout the history, Subotica was a prosperous city, although between the two World Wars, due to political and economical decline, the City lost some of its economic strength. The respondent felt that during the socialist period Subotica further lost its institutional, social and governance capacity, as it became a border city of no strategic importance, situated next to Hungary, the Eastern Block country that was separated from Yugoslavia by the militarised buffer zone often called the Iron Curtain.

Heritage – a source of the identity or nationalism

Several respondents spoke about cultural heritage in relation to the identity. For the senior conservation officer (#09), cultural heritage was a source of identity and in his opinion the State should be responsible for its maintenance “in order to maintain the country’s identity.” On the other hand, the representative from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) felt that the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities in Subotica was not treated equally as Serbian cultural heritage. In the respondent’s opinion, considerable effort has been deployed to erase the memory of Austro-Hungarian past of the City.

Subotica belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and was its third largest city. Some new rulers want to erase that memory. #14

A project coordinator from the Jewish Arts Centre (#16) felt that preservation of cultural heritage in former Yugoslavia was based on national or ethnical belonging – Croats protected Catholic Churches because they are mainly Catholics. Similarly, Serbs protected Orthodox Churches and Muslim Mosques. “Jewish heritage, there was no one to take care of” (#16).

The interference of politics and planning

Representative from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) reported on his lack of trust in public institutions, and in particular, the Planning Commission that in his opinion was political in the sense that it consisted of politicians and not professionals.

The members of the Planning Commission are not delegated by professional bodies; political parties delegate members who are closer to the profession, but not necessarily. And this commission is inherently political. #14

The respondent emphasised that the role of Planning Commission was such that they were making decisions that only professionals could make. The respondent reported that Planning Commission did not even call the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection to take part in decision-making when those decisions considered the controversial project of reconstruction of the National Theatre. The respondent was present at the meeting of the Planning Commission when the decision has been made as he was the City Architect at that time.

When I objected to the demolition [of the National Theatre], he [member of the Planning Commission] would answer – “the Institute for the Cultural Heritage Preservation decided so and we must follow it”. Why Institute’s representative is not here to defend their plan? #14

Respondent (#14) expressed his concern that there was an unwritten rule that institutions have to endorse and support the decisions made by the elected local politicians even if those decisions were in conflict with their professional standards. In the context of heritage conservation, respondent thought that was further exacerbated because of the lack of transparency of work of the Institute for Cultural Heritage

Protection. Respondent strongly believed that the local elected politicians would take advantage of the situation and use their position to make a pressure on the conservation officers even when that was not in the public interest but only for a personal or political gain. That was further confirmed by the conservation officer (#09) who asserted that the politicians make decisions on strategic development of the City, while planning and conservation officers implement their decisions.

The most general policy should give the politics. After that is done, it has to be developed by the town planners and the Town Planning Agency. # 09

The Associate Professor in town planning at Subotica University (#15) reported that there was a huge political pressure to build a new National Theatre. The decision to start works was made quickly and without any public consultations. Respondent reported that this was a moment when she became an active member of the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO, organising the petition and public campaign against the demolition.

They organised a round table when they announced that they would demolish National Theatre at some point in January or February 2007. Then we gathered – a few of us in town – and started a campaign against the demolition of the Theatre, but there was absolutely no chance. #15

The respondent reported that she was involved in asking for support from the international organisations such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), Europa Nostra, (the pan-European Federation for Heritage) and the International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture and Urbanism (INTBAU). The respondent sought support also from the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Serbia and the Democratic League of Croats in Vojvodina. They all gave their support for the campaign except the Minister of Culture. Still, local government proceeded with the works without taking into consideration the concerns of the public. The respondent further reported that, in her opinion, political pressure contributed to the National Theatre project being approved.

The City appointed a Steering Committee to make decisions about the National Theatre project. Steering Committee was chaired by Jozef Kasa, at that time the City Mayor who liked to keep all the matters in his hands. It was his political ambition to leave something big behind him, which is in my opinion a backlog of a socialist-realist, utopian planning where leaders didn't have a realistic idea how much money they have and how much they can spend, but they imagined

something they really like, and then kept bullying others to invest in and to carry out their project no matter how unrealistic it was. #15

The respondent (#15) believed that the decision was made without serious consideration of the economic situation and possible constraints it could have on realisation of the project.

The representative from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) reported that his disagreement to support the project of reconstruction of the National Theatre cost him his job of the City Architect. He also pointed out how little power has been delegated to the City Architects as he could not veto the decision or revert it in any way. In addition, under pressure from the politicians, the conservation officers decided that only the parts of construction that were dating from the time when it was built (1851) should be kept.

We tried to save what can be saved from the old theatre. [...] So we tried to evaluate and decide what can be sacrificed. #09

When asked to explain why he was in favour of the decision to reconstruct the existing building of the National Theatre, conservation officer (#09) relied:

I was afraid that if the theatre troupe goes out from the building, and we build a new building, the existing one would collapse. That it will be out of function for many years and that it will deteriorate. It was in the 1990s, during the crisis. [...] We thought that if only we retain the function of the theatre that we will be able to save the building. It turned out that we didn't manage to save the building. When I analyzed it, the mistake was that we decided that we will leave the theatre at the same the place, and we didn't think of whether we can fit it on this plot. #09

Sources of funding

Subotica has diversified funding and considerable effort has been invested to ensure that priority projects have sources of funding allocated. The funding available was still is not matching the needs.

Senior conservation officers (#09 and #10) reported that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection receives funding for its projects from all levels of the government, local, regional and national. The Institute is financed by Subotica City Council; funding

is allocated for salaries, some projects and to cover maintenance costs. Senior conservation officer (#09) thought that funding for projects that the Institute receives was insufficient to cover the real costs. Respondent also felt that restoration works take too long because funding is insufficient.

What we get is not enough even for regular maintenance of the building, let alone for some serious restoration work. Available funding is minimal. So it takes 5, 6 or 10 years for a building to be restored from what we get from the City and from other funding sources. I could count on my fingers how many buildings we managed to restore in the last 10, 20 years. #09

A respondent further reported that Hungary was interested in helping to restore Hungarian minority's heritage and the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection has been using this opportunity. It is similar with the Jewish heritage, reported the respondent, as the Institute applies for funding from the international foundations.

We are restoring the Synagogue practically from these funds – the World Monument Fund and other foundations. In terms of money, we are talking about 60, 80, 120 thousands of dollars. These are the funds we receive annually, or sometimes for period of several years. #09

The respondent emphasised that funding available from these sources was still insufficient.

Senior conservation officer (#10) reported that continuity of funding for the reconstruction of the National Theatre has been ensured from various sources, such as the City Council, Government of the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina and the National Investment Program that is administered by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia. Respondent further explained that fund for the restoration of facades had been initiated with the aim of funding restoration of the facades of the cultural properties in the City centre. The Deputy Director of Subotica Land Development Agency (#13) explained how funding had been allocated.

Because buildings are under protection, the Land Development Agency applied following method of funding – in general, City pays 50% of the costs and remaining 50% is financed by the tenants themselves. That is a principle in use. However, if in the cultural property there are offices that are owned by the City, that percentage increases liabilities of the City, and reduces liability of the tenants. #13

The senior conservation officer (#09) reported that there were the cases when private owners or tenants were not able to afford to pay 50% of the costs. In some of those cases, the commission in charge would decide to increase participation from the fund to 70 or 80%.

Deputy Director of Subotica Land Development Agency (#13) expressed his concern that due to the economic crisis funding available for this project was getting smaller and therefore fewer cultural properties can be restored every year. Asked about the costs of individual restoration project, the respondent emphasised that:

It all depends on how complex the works on the building are, and whether we have to restore complete roof construction. In any case, we are talking about of 4 to 10 million dinars (£40.000 - £100.000) per project. #13

Respondent also explained that private owners and tenants living in the cultural properties pay back their part of the restoration costs by paying monthly instalments over a period of years according to the previously established agreement.

Priorities for funding

Senior conservation officers (#09 and #10) reported that the priority for the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection was the restoration of the Synagogue. Asked how the Institute decided which cultural properties are a priority for funding, the senior conservation officer (#10) replied:

Priority depends of their importance, as well as the condition they are. However, the way we approach work on the protection, conservation and restoration of these buildings still depends on funding available. #10

Senior conservation officer (#09) reported that the Town Hall was the second priority. The respondent felt that due to the extensive use of the building it was difficult to carry out regular maintenance.

City Mayor and Local Government are situated there, as well as all the other city institutions. It is a building visited by more than thousand people every day. To protect such a building against decay it is difficult, because every year a million of people go there. #09

The Town Hall and Synagogue are two buildings that are priorities for maintenance and restoration. However, they are facing different types of deterioration. Senior conservation officer (#09) thought that was the case because the Town Hall was continuously in use, while the Synagogue out of use for decades. The respondent further reported that one of the priority buildings for restoration was the Rajhl Palace, one of the best examples of the Hungarian Secession in Subotica and the most mature work of Subotica's architect Ferenz Rajhl.

Management, cultural and personal factors

The process of policy coordination benefits when adequate communication and collaboration channels are established across sectors and organisations (Peters, 1998; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Considering that policy coordination involves various policy actors working together, implementation becomes important and so is the leadership in order to ensure implementation of the cross-cutting policies (OECD, 1996; Halpert, 1982).

Attitudes towards collaborative work

Conflict between conservation officers and town planners

Several respondents reported on tensions between conservation and planning professionals (#08, #9, #14 and 15#). Senior planning officer (#08) felt that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Conservation was a conservative institution in the sense that they "are found of only what is old." He also reported that conservation officers were accusing planning officers for wanting to demolish too much. Still, in the respondent's opinion, they would always reach a consensus.

So far we haven't got many confrontations with the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. Minor adjustments were made with the street regulation, because where the buildings were of minor importance, we tried to make more spacious roads, with the bicycle lanes, which is of great importance for the city. #08

The Associate Professor in town planning at Subotica University (#15) felt that the tensions between these two sectors exist and that they were pertinent to their role.

There is a conflict between conservation officers and the Town Planning Agency, as those in the Town Planning Agency have a desire to allow as many highrise buildings to be built. However, the biggest problem is that they always want to built more and more buildings, accommodate more and more cars, and when is this new Detail Regulation Plan for the historic centre is fully implemented, we would not be able to do anything else. #15

The representative from the non-governmental sector (#14) thought that town planners do not know how to adjust their approach to planning of the conservation area. In the respondent's view, town planners still rely on Le Corbusier's idea of functional city and modernism.

"I [the town planner] have now adopted the tactic or idea that everything starts with us and we are the smartest". These ideas probably are coming from Le Corbusier and him alike who created modern architecture. One's needs to read Athens Charter to be clear about it – here and there, a building can be kept. This idea has been overcome long since then, but we still call upon the ideas of Athens Charter. #14

Public participation and collaboration with the non-governmental organisations

The senior conservation officer (#10) was asked to explain how the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection ensures public participation and control over their activities related to the designation of cultural properties and work on the planning documents. Respondent felt that the owners were generally informed about the significance of their properties. The respondent reported that planning officers had:

[...] contacts with the owners who are interested in a greater investment and intervention in the city centre. The owners are able to offer comments and suggestions when the draft plan was made available for public consultations. #10

Respondent from the nongovernmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) felt that there was no real public participation in the planning process. In the respondent's opinion, "possibility of citizen participation in planning is just formal".

Individuals or groups can make the remarks about the planning document, but that must be done in writing, and that proved to be an obstacle. #14

The respondent also reported that his organisation PROTEGO, being aware of the problem, decided to challenge the whole process of public consultations by submitting numerous objections on the planning documents.

That story, citizen participation in planning is a farce. We were trying as PROTEGO to solve this problem. We wrote the objections ourselves because our citizens are generally unqualified to do that. We are looking for funding in order to educate citizens on how to do it but we got nothing so far. #14

The respondent also expressed his concern over the competency of the official institutions in charge of the conservation area. He strongly believed that:

The Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and the Town Planning Agency are full of incompetent and disinterested people that are easily influenced. And everyone keeps its position and cannot say a thing. #14

The loss of confidence in the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection

The respondent from the non-governmental organisation PROTEGO (#14) felt that institutions display a great deal of arrogance when they decide on which cultural properties were architecturally valuable enough to be kept.

Just because someone finish the studies, it does not mean that they are top experts in that field, capable of assessing whether something is or is not architecturally valuable. For me that is nonsense. #14

The Respondent referred to both the lack of public participation in the process of designation of cultural properties and to some of the recent decisions of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection to demolish some buildings, including most of the National Theatre building. Respondent also felt that if the city continues with the destruction, the city centre would lose its significance and integrity.

The Associate Professor in town planning at Subotica University (#15) felt that interests play an important role in decision-making processes and that professionals working at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection can be easily pressurised to modify their decisions in order to suit someone's interests.

Problem is that we have this area of the great importance, and then there we have individual buildings that are also designated. However, our Institute for

Cultural Heritage Protection declares some buildings as worthless and allow their demolition so that GF+4 buildings could be built. Also, it is unthinkable, how can someone protect the National Theatre as a cultural property of the great importance, and then pull it down and build something much bigger. That is contradictory with what was legally adopted. They adapt to the investors who come and pressurise them. #15

Some problematic decisions from the past resulted in the loss of confidence in the professionalism of the conservation officers. Apart from the National Theatre, respondent named another example – Hajzler's Bath – as a cultural property that lost its status as a designated cultural property.

They suddenly declared this Hajzler's Bath insignificant and allowed the demolition. Now it is half destroyed and its walls now reach not further then up to the height of a fence. They planned a four-story building there. #15

The respondent also felt that the pressure from the investors was the reason why there were now two regimes of protection for the conservation area.

Management mechanisms in practice

The senior building inspector (#12) felt that there is a lack of the mechanisms that would ensure adequate maintenance of the cultural properties. The respondent thought that regardless of the type of the cultural property – smaller family buildings, residential buildings that include several flats or public buildings as the Synagogue, the Town Hall or the Library – they all suffer from the lack of maintenance. As that became a permanent problem, in the respondent's opinion, potential investors were put off as it was too expensive for them to invest. As the main problem, respondent reported that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection issued too strict Rules on the Permitted Development, also without taking into consideration the cost of such works. That prevented potential investors from acquiring all the necessary permits.

The biggest problems we face are the cultural properties owned by the families financially unable to adequately and constantly maintain these buildings so they are deteriorating. #12

As the main reasons for the unauthorised construction works the Director of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#09) named that the Building Permits were

too expensive to obtain, the procedures too long and bureaucratised, and the Rules on Permitted Development imposed to the client too restrictive. In the respondent's opinion, additional problem was that the Institute did not have its own Inspection. If they were able to directly act when they became aware of the unauthorised construction works, it would not only save time but shorten unnecessary procedure that was in place.

Communication and collaboration

It was the researcher's opinion and most of the respondents confirmed through the interviews that governmental institutions in Subotica have practice of regular communication and consultations on matters related to planning and development of the historic city centre. The Director of the Institute for Heritage Conservation (#09) reported that such a complex problem as governance of the historic city centre was would be difficult to deal with if there were no regular consultations between the departments in charge.

Certainly there is a conversation, because it is clear that such historic city centre, that virtually includes all the major public buildings and institutions in the city centre, it is extremely difficult to protect. #09

The respondent (#09) felt that regular consultations help both the town planners and the conservation officers to understand each other's perspective on the raising issues.

We are trying to reach a compromise, and we can understand that in such city centre conservation cannot be always the priority and that some decisions we have to leave to town planners in order to allow this city to go on living. #09

The respondent (#09) further emphasised that there was a practice of regular communication and consultations between the Institute and all relevant institutions in Subotica.

Today, for instance, we got a request in relation to laying cables. Even concerning these things Institute is being consulted. So there is this habit, and this collaboration is ongoing. And if one looks at the city centre, it is still one of the best preserved, if not the best preserved city centre in the country. #09

The Deputy Director of Subotica Land Development Agency (#13) also felt that there was a culture of communication between the institutions in Subotica. He mentioned the local strategic partnership formed around the initiative to revitalise façades in the historic city centre. He noted that such initiative has been formed for the first time in 1960s during the self-management, and that it continued to exist in different forms until today. Since 2005, Subotica Land Development Agency has been in charge and before that was the Fund for City Maintenance operating within the Town Planning Agency.

Bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation

This theme is in particular concerned about how staff navigates in an institutional terrain in relation to standard operating procedures, previously established ways of dealing with the issues and channels of communication and collaboration.

Standard operating procedures and bureaucracy

Analysing interviews and policy documents revealed that there was a widespread belief that ensuring *transparency*, *shorter processing times* and *simplification of procedures* where possible were the most important issues that should be addressed by all the institutions involved in governance of Subotica historic city centre. The senior planning officer (#08) reported that all the procedures has been organised in a very *transparent* way. They are laid down by the law and the adoption of any planning document follows all predetermined steps.

We advertise all on our website, and all officially approved planning documents are published at our website. [...] We also advertise in the media when we have something to say. #08

Respondent (#08) continued by explaining in detail how transparency is ensured during the adoption of planning documents:

Public consultations usually take 30 days after which Planning Commission discusses comments made at an open session. After that, Planning Commission holds a closed session – the Commission meets 4 times in total during the preparation of any planning document. #08

Head of the Department for Building Permits (#11) emphasised the importance of avoiding unnecessary bureaucracy and aiming for procedures to be as simple as possible so that all those interested in obtaining Building Permits can do it quickly and trouble-free. The respondent reported that in the past legal provisions were unnecessarily complicated, but that with the changes of Planning and Construction Act in 2003, 2006 and 2009, as well as digitalisation of the Cadastral Registry, the procedure of obtaining Building Permits became more simple. Before the changes took place, unnecessary bureaucracy and quite lengthy and time consuming procedures were putting off many potential investors. In his opinion, the procedure is now “very clear and fairly well laid down” and in order to provide further help, the Department for Building Permits made all forms and guidelines available at their office and at the Website. In respondent (#11) opinion, the length of the procedure could sometimes be problematic:

[...] because the situation is further complicated with the property relations - establishing property ownership, joint ownership, various approvals that may follow. This is something that can complicate the procedure. #11

However, the respondent (#11) felt that local government in Subotica went step forward in encouraging potential investors to approach them prior to applying for the Building Permit:

It is always better if the investors ask in writing for so-called ‘technical information’ [...] that means to ask us what is permitted on a particular plot by the planning documents. #11

Formally, Planning and Construction Act orders that the Department for Building Permits should obtain all the necessary permits, but respondent (#11) reported that in practice that proved to take more time than if investors would do it themselves:

Formally, the law advises that the Department should be responsible for obtaining all the necessary documents. That was done in a good faith, but the practice has shown that the Department is like any other bureaucratic institution. #11

The respondent (#11) emphasised that his Department was aware that procedures needed further simplification but that also other institutions involved they are trying to help investors. In that respect, Department invested all their efforts in maximising use

of the Geographical Information System (GIS) to store all relevant information related to issuing of the Building Permits at one place:

[...] clients now don't have to apply for all the Rules as those are collected and included in the GIS during works on the Detailed Regulation Plan. (#11)

Similarly, obtaining copy from “the cadastral map takes 7 to 10 days (#11).” Also, Director of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#09) reported that obtaining Rules on the Permitted Development “now takes from one to two weeks depending on the complexity of the project.”

Policy lacunae

Respondents reported about two types of problems in practice related to the lack of legislation or procedures in place: problems with the work of Building and Construction Inspection and lack of financial assistance or tax relief for the owners of the designated cultural properties.

Inspection

Senior conservation officer (#09) reported that due to the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection not having their own inspection, in practice, they have to rely on Building and Construction Inspection from the City Council. He explains their relationship:

[...] we are constantly urging there. Whether they did it or not – neither we can coerce them, nor they have any direct legal obligation to us. #09

Respondent reported that in the past their collaboration was not always successful and suggested that could be improved if, by the law, Institute would be in charge for inspection related to the designated cultural properties.

No financial assistance or tax relief available for the owners

The senior conservation officer (#09) expressed his concern that the lack of incentives and tax relief encouraged property owners to break the law, and the lack of inspection within the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection further helps the owners to get away with unauthorised construction works on the protected cultural properties. Respondent felt that due to the financial constraints, some of the owners of the cultural properties resort to unauthorised construction works.

The State does not provide any financial assistance to those who own cultural properties. Here, having cultural property is a loss. One only has problems out of it, higher costs and that motivates the owners to the maximum to avoid the law.
#09

The Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection charges for issuing the Rules on Permitted Development that are a part of the Building Permit. Often, the owners are asked to follow very expensive restoration techniques which further raise the overall costs. Considering that there is no tax relief or financial assistance to help the owners, they often decide to do the necessary construction works without asking for the Building Permit.

On one hand, Regional Institute imposes restrictions; on the other, the State does not help in any way those who own protected cultural properties. [...] by this law, owners of the cultural properties are motivated to the maximum to avoid the Institute. And, of course many try to do so. #09

Respondent (#09) felt that it is not a fair policy to impose constraints, and at the same time not to offer any help. Moreover, representative from the non-governmental sector (#14) pointed out that the whole situation has been exacerbated by the fact that local government was not the owner of cultural properties on its territory.

Municipalities do not own the properties in their territory. All the properties are owned by the Republic of Serbia and they do not maintain them. #14

In the respondent's opinion, local government would be more interested in investing in their conservation than the State.

Discussion

Among the three case studies, Subotica represents the most advanced example in terms of demonstrated capacity for policy coordination and governance of the historic city centre. While the next two case studies will demonstrate lower degrees of willingness and capacity to commit to coordinative endeavour, Subotica has shown high commitment to ensure effective governance of its historic city centre. There are several reasons for that and those will be discussed here.

The analysis revealed that the dominant discourses on the development of the City of Subotica are supportive of conservation of the historic city centre. The discursive construction of an overall development of the City of Subotica is situated within the two groups of policy discourses, namely *the re-establishment of the city as a regional and international centre*, and *strengthening multiculturalism and ethnical identities* in Subotica. Each of them gained prominence through political deliberation and as a consequence became institutionalised, began to dominate institutional practices and influence policy formulation and direction (Hajer, 1993; Schmidt V. , 2010).

Policy ideas do not emerge into public policy in a void; on the contrary, they are constrained by pre-existing narratives, discourses and modes of rationality that have already achieved discursive structuration (Atkinson, 2000; Hajer, 2003). In history, Subotica was the first city in Vojvodina to acquire initially a status of a Free Treasury Town from Maria Theresa, and then in 1779 to become Free Royal Town (Bačić, 1998; Pušić, 1987). That was of immense importance for Subotica's development, as it marked a progression from simply being a town to becoming the regional main centre within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the 1918, the Bačka region was split between Hungary and what would later become Yugoslavia, separating Subotica from Hungary. During the Cold War that separation became even more pronounced as the Yugoslav-Hungarian border also became border with the Eastern Block (Krstić B. , 2006). The analysis revealed that both *the re-establishment of the city as a regional and international centre*, and *strengthening multiculturalism and ethnical identities* in Subotica are dominant discourses in political deliberation. A recurrent theme in the interviews was a sense amongst respondents that Subotica has a potential to regain its status of a regional and international centre and that its strongest points in achieving that are its distinct Art Nouveau architecture, plurality of ethnical identities and multiculturalism. The analysis found that heritage was regarded as a *source of identity and belonging* and therefore a potential policy instrument. Furthermore, the analysis showed that discourses of identity, ethnicity and cultural belonging were linked with territory and were reflected in political discussions leading to their further institutionalisation through various policy documents. One of the SDP's six operational goals – 'strengthening the identity of the Municipality' – provided a direct link between heritage, identity and territory. The analysis also showed that not only that discourses of multiculturalism and ethnical identities in Subotica matter, but that they alter perceptions of policy actors and influence the way governance of the historic city centre is formulated.

The analysis indicated that there are some contextual factors that affect policy coordination, namely, *political instability* and *political interfering*. Those create volatility in terms of uncertainty and instability that in return affect long-term planning (Halpert, 1982). In particular, several respondents reported on the lack of political commitment to determine long-term vision for the city centre in terms of conservation politics. Political interfering was particularly pronounced with the reconstruction of the National Theatre as this project has been used as an instrument of political legitimisation and promotion. The analysis revealed that political and economic interests had a huge impact on the decision-making process that has been concluded without wider public consultations. This project conveyed many conflicts and compromises during the political struggles to establish a shared vision. In this process, the National Theatre became *the* symbol of not only the City but the entire region of North Bačka, a place where different identities came together and confronted one another. Furthermore, the analysis found that heritage conservation is high at the list of priorities and that enjoys political backing. As a result, one of the six operational goals of the SSDP – strengthening the identity of the Municipality – placed heritage conservation high at the list of priorities by aiming at “maintaining and improving the identity and character of Subotica Municipality, enhancing links with the architectural heritage, improving the quality of protection and revitalization of the cultural heritage” (SSDP, p.111).

The analysis found that local governance in Subotica is characterised by certain degree of *fragmentation* which manifests as a division between governmental and civil organisations. These views surfaced mainly in relation to the work of civil organisations, and were corroborated by the respondents from the governmental sector in terms that they were reporting only about the collaboration and communication that they have with the other governmental organisations while civil sector has been limited to only one form of participation, that is the public consultation process as a part of the adoption of planning documents. A possible reason for that is the controversy caused by the reconstruction of the National Theatre that resulted in polarisation of views between these two sectors. This polarisation was continued with announcements of other plans for the conservation area, such as the proposal to demolish certain buildings as they were not found valuable enough to be kept. These events together contributed to growing antagonism between these two sectors. However, the analysis found that even within the governmental sectors there is a lack of good collaborative endeavour. Namely, Building and Construction Inspection doesn't always collaborate with the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in defying the unauthorised construction works.

Analysing of the interviews and policy documents demonstrated *fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities*. For instance, none of the two key planning documents – the SSDP and the GUP – identify which policy actors or institutions would take the responsibility to implement planning objectives. Planning documents should reflect on how the authority and resources has been distributed as they focus on representation of power, rights and responsibilities in relation to the roles various actors have in planning (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Prior, 2003). Instead, responsibility for planning here was entirely institutionalized in the discipline, in the statutory authority, and in its products. Furthermore, the SSDP even abstracted local government as codified authorities and service providers. These insights point out to possible lack of the accountability. Accountability is important issue in ensuring implementation of any plan as it establishes legally binding sets of rules that oblige policy actor or an institution to act on behalf of someone or for a public interest, or in representative democracies, where elected representatives are held accountable for implementation, of agenda previously agreed on (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). Here that is not the case as implementation has been institutionalised in ‘planning’ as a discipline, without reference to possible mechanisms of control.

This case study was particularly rich in providing interpretive insights into values, attitudes and perceptions that form the basis of actors’ role within the organization (Bonniwell Haslett, 2012; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Challis, et al., 1988). Four broad themes emerged from the analysis. Those are *attitudes towards collaborative work*, *perception of relative power*, *interaction potential for joint endeavour* and *the role of ideas and learning in policy process*.

Good relationships between the organisations are sown over time, as previous interactions will assist forming opinions about each other (Halpert, 1982; Mandell & Steelman, 2003). The decision to engage in a coordinative endeavour is made much easier if there are positive *attitudes towards collaborative work*. The analysis found that governmental organisations in Subotica have a *practice of regular communication and consultations* on matters related to planning and development of the historic city centre as it helps both the town planners and the conservation officers to understand each other’s perspective on the raising issues. A number of respondents reported that this is due to the history of good relations and regular communication that exists among the policy actors and organisations in Subotica. It is not possible to determine from the analysis when and how that started to happen, but it could be concluded that decentralisation and devolution of power during the self-management system –

introduced with the 1964 and 1974 Constitutions retrospectively – supported this collaborative endeavour. This history of good relationships helps policy actors and organisations establish mutual understanding and trust, and good interpersonal relations (Alexander, 1995). As a result, Subotica is the only case study analysed here to have local strategic partnership formed around the initiative to revitalise façades in the historic city centre in the 1960s. Regular communication and collaboration, and the ability to see common interests make engaging in a coordinative endeavour much easier.

Another powerful factor affecting organisations' attitudes to policy coordination is a perception of a *relative power of the members* (Alexander, 1995; Mandell & Steelman, 2003; Pierre, 2000). A number of respondents reported on power asymmetries that exist between the different segments of local polity. The analysis found that both nongovernmental actors and conservation professionals thought that there was a power asymmetry between the conservation professionals on one side, and politicians, investors or developers on the other, in favour of the latter. One reason for this power asymmetry is a controversy with the reconstruction of the National Theatre when political and economic interests overruled the decisions of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. As a consequence, conservation professionals are seen as professionally defensive and passive. What is more, it is understood that conservation professionals will endorse and support the decisions made by the elected local politicians even if those decisions were in conflict with their professional standards which contributes to growing dissatisfaction and mistrust in their work. However, a number of respondents thought that the tensions between these two sectors exist and that they were pertinent to their role; namely, conservation professionals deal with heritage conservation, and planning professionals with planning and development of the City. Such situation creates conditions for professional defensiveness. The analysis corroborates this assertion in terms of what is commonly understood by the respondents as a monopoly and elitism of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. Namely, conservation officers often issue too strict Rules on the Permitted Development that as a consequence impose high costs to the property owners. Also, the SSDP name as a problem that the most important cultural properties are 'untouchable' in term that those were so important that no one wanted to take the responsibility of making any important decisions in relation to these cultural properties.

The role of *ideas and learning in the policy process* is primarily in a fact that those provide the lenses through which policies are being interpreted by the policy actors

and allow organisation to adapt and learn from the experience (Béland & Cox, 2011; Mehta, 2011; Peters, 2013). The analysis uncovered three broad themes. The first two of them are related to organisational learning, namely *the shifting paradigms* and *the improvement of administrative procedures*, and the remaining one is related to the concept of communities of practice and field of arguments, namely *the knowledge domains*.

Organisational learning usually refers to the process of generating, accumulating and applying new ideas and knowledge in order to improve organisational performance or competitiveness (Cunliffe, 2008; Hertin, et al., 2009). Analysing the interviews and policy documents revealed that over the last decade, the professional approach to heritage in Subotica shifted from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument of urban regeneration and development. That shift was especially important because it changed the perception of what heritage was considered to be, gradually changing its definition to encompass not only physical artefacts but also setting, social histories and identities. Understanding of the development was shifting to encompass heritage as well in terms of economic development and heritage tourism.

The analysis found two distinct cases of *the improvement of administrative procedures* as a result of organisational learning. Namely, Rules on the Permitted Development were made more detailed in order to prevent possible misinterpretations, and efficacy of the administrative procedures has been increased by ensuring transparency, shorter processing times and simplification of procedures where possible.

Policy process entails the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation happens across borders of different fields (Willard, 1996; Fischer, 2000). This so called field of arguments is “a discursive terrain of inquiry organized around particular judgemental system for deciding what counts as knowledge as well as the adjudication of competing claims” (Fischer, 2000, p. 255). At the organisational level, policy development might look as a complex and often chaotic interplay of formal and informal policy actors, their discursive frames, and social, cultural and political processes. However, policy development could be understood as well as a sequence of activities in which policy actors exchange understandings related to the policy process (Lave & Wenger, 1991). If those policy actors fulfil three conditions – existence of the domain of knowledge, community and practice – they could be called a community of practice. A community of practice engages its members in a joint

sense-making both about their relationship to other communities of practice and, more generally, about the world around them. The analyses identified three groups of actors (communities) whose activities differ in terms of knowledge domains and practice. Those are the *conservation professionals*, *planning professionals* whose activities are backed by the local politicians, and *nongovernmental actors* consisting of voluntary organisations and various individuals. Each of the communities of practice identified here is dealing with the shared sets of issues over prolonged period of time, is committed to shared understanding, learning and sharing of ideas, and has a specific focus of their actions. Conservation and planning professionals, due to their conflicting frames of understanding that resulted in differences in approach, constitute two separate communities of practice. The nongovernmental actors as a community of practice organised in 2007 to oppose the reconstruction of the National Theatre. They continued their organised activities and took part in all public debates concerning conservation of the historic city centre.

Building on the previously discussed insights it is possible to make some conclusions on the *interaction potential for joint endeavour* in Subotica. As mentioned in the literature, there are various factors that combined could contribute to produce good interaction potential for joint endeavour. For instance, one of the most important is the positive evaluation of other organisation and staff involved, similar expertise, value systems, norms and beliefs (Mandell & Steelman, 2003). Positive attitude and an organisational culture supportive of working with other organisations in a joint endeavour is another important issue (OECD, 1996; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the decision to engage in a coordinative endeavour is made much easier if there are regular interactions and informal contact between organisations whereas proximity allows for more frequent informal interactions (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Halpert, 1982). Finally, shared understanding of policy issues and their solutions, ability to see common interests, and culture of trust can all contribute to the policy coordination process (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988; Halpert, 1982). On the whole, the findings of this case study support previous research. The analysis revealed that although there are tensions, conflicts and occasional lack of trust between different segments of the local polity, positive attitude towards collaborative work is present and it is reinforced by the practice of regular communication and collaboration. Also, the existence of local strategic partnership for the façades renewal and commitment of its participants demonstrate the capacity for joint endeavour.

In summary, it could be concluded that a number of issues here act as the change drivers. Those are the dominant discourses supportive of conservation of the historic city centre, organisational learning as it induces changes in how issues are being dealt with, practice of regular communication and consultations as it helps both the town planners and the conservation officers to understand each other's perspective on the raising issues, and nongovernmental actors as critics of institutions and their work.

Conclusions

This Chapter has extended our knowledge of the organisational rationality underpinning governance of the historic city centre of Subotica and demonstrated how actors navigate institutional setting in order to deliver the policy. Firstly, it provided a background on nature of the planning context and character of the conservation area. Analysis presented here has been supported by the empirical evidence consisting of the policy documents and interviews conducted with the various professionals whose work has been closely related to planning and conservation of the historic city centre in Subotica. In so doing, it made it possible to appreciate the full complexity of the policy process.

Compared with the other two case studies, Subotica represents the most advanced example in terms of demonstrated capacity for policy coordination and governance of the historic city centre. For instance, the analysis had shown that dominant discourses have been supportive of conservation of the historic city centre. However, the analysis found that there are some contextual factors that adversely affect policy coordination, namely, *political instability* and *political interfering*. Similarly, certain degree of *fragmentation*, which manifests as a division between governmental and nongovernmental organisations, and *fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities* hamper coordinative endeavours. However, the study provided evidence that suggests that certain interpretive factors support policy coordination, namely *attitudes towards collaborative work*, *perception of relative power*, *perception of other participants in the policy process*, and *organisational learning and the role of ideas in policy process*.

CHAPTER 6: Pančevo Case Study

Introduction

Pančevo is the capital city of the South Banat Region, situated at the southeast of the Province of Vojvodina, and it is 19km northeast from Belgrade, capital city of the Republic of Serbia. The region that today claims the name of 'Banat' in Serbia makes up only about one third of the historical Banat that was in 1920, after the Treaty of Trianon, divided between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), leaving only a fraction in Hungary (Batt, 2002). Serbian Banat is divided into smaller regions, namely, North Banat, Central Banat and South Banat.

Pančevo, in its tremulous history, often changed hands between Hungary, Austria, Serbia, Ottoman Empire and Romania (Batt, 2002; Mitrović, 2004; Savin, 2010; Pušić, 1987). Before 1522, it was a part of Kingdom of Hungary but then it fell under Ottoman rule. In 1716, Austria occupied the territory and after the Požarevac Peace Treaty in 1718, nowadays Serbian part of Banat became a part of Austria. At that moment, Pančevo's population consisted of Serbians, Turks, Germans, Rumanians and Jews but none of them had a majority (Mitrović, 1997). In 1720, migration from Serbia changed ethnical composition of the region to Serbian favour. Becoming the Military Border, Pančevo acquires a new status and its urban development starts (Folić & Veinović, 1982; Macura, 1984; Gavrilović, 2011).

Based on the decree of Emperor Franz I from 1 January 1794, Pančevo obtained the status of a Free Town which meant that it was allowed to form the local government (Mitrović, 1998; Pušić, 1987). The first Magistrate was appointed by the army in 28 February 1794, with Captain Johann Bongradom as Mayor. In those first decades, the city government was in the house of merchant Vreta on the market. Fundraising for the Town Hall started in 1812, but the construction works only started in September 1833. The Town Hall, built in the classicist style according to the plans of Major Heimann, was completed 1838. In 1918, Vojvodina including Pančevo, became a part

of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which lead the city to develop closer connections with Serbia.



Picture 15: The central square in Pančevo

According to the 2011 Census, the City of Pančevo had 90.776 inhabitants and encompassed the area of 68.66 km² (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2012). The City's population has increased three times since the Second World War (from 30.516 in 1948). It is dominantly populated by Serbians (81.2%), followed by Hungarians (3.2%), Macedonians (2.6%), Slovaks (1.5%), Roma (1.4%) and others (10.1%). In 2009 manufacturing generated 56.17% of the revenue at the territory of Pančevo Municipality (Regionalna Privredna Komora Pančevo, 2012). In terms of the employment structure, two sectors were dominant with over half of the workers being employed there – private sector 33.1% and manufacturing 25.3%.

The planning context

The planned development of Pančevo started in 1764 when Pančevo became a part of so called 'German Banat District' (Folić & Veinović, 1982; Macura, 1984). At that

time, many landmark buildings already were built (Obradović, 2009): the Red Warehouse (1724), the Wheat Warehouse (1724), the Salt Warehouse (1718), Hospital Quarantine 'Kontumac' (1726) and Weifert Brewery (1722). In 1764, the first Regulation Plan called 'German Pančevo' has been adopted. Its aim was to control physical development of what we nowadays know as the historic city centre (Folić & Veinović, 1982; Pušić, 1987). By the time when Pančevo acquired a status of the Free Town from the Emperor Frantz I in 1794, the main urban features of the city centre have been already created. This new status triggered the series of works aiming to make Pančevo worthy of its new status. The new Regulation Plan has been adopted in 1795, only to be updated in 1808 and 1820 in order to keep up with the new developments in the city (Folić & Veinović, 1982). Two new public buildings have been built, the Hospital in 1833 and the new Town Hall (Picture 16) from 1833 to 1838 (Kadijević, 2012; Pušić, 1987). In 1804, local government initiated works aiming to correct the regulation of the streets in the inner-city area. From 1808 to 1818, the Detail Regulation Plans have been adopted for all the main streets in the city centre. Due to the economic crisis in the mid 19th Century, planning activities stopped. The only documents that have been adopted were the Cadastral Map from the 1869, followed by the next ones from the 1902 and 1935 (Folić & Veinović, 1982).

In 1918, Pančevo became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and restored its close economic and cultural tight with the central Serbia (Savin, 2010). After the Second World War, Pančevo resumed its physical and economic planning and development through the work of the public enterprise "Urbanizam". In 1960s and 1970s, Pančevo revived its industry and the city started to grow progressively with five new suburbs built. Yet, at the same time its physical development was interrupted when the first highraised buildings were built in the city centre including the modern Town Hall (Pušić, 1987).

In 1993, the Assembly of Pančevo City Council makes the decision to transform the public enterprise "Urbanizam", previously in charge for spatial planning in the Municipality, and to found new public enterprise the "Directorate for Construction and Development of Pančevo" in charge for spatial planning, construction and housing (Odluka o osnivanju JP "Direkcija za izgradnju i uredjenje Pančeva", 1993). The formal decision to proceeds with preparation of any planning document made by the Assembly of Pančevo City Council is in this case delegated to the Spatial Planning Department in the "Directorate for Construction and Development of Pančevo." They further collaborate with all the institutions required by the law in the preparation of the Plan, including the Regional Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. Once the Plan

has been drafted, the Assembly of Pančevo City Council appoints the members of the Planning Commission who approve the Plan. The City Council then formally adopt the Plan and takes the responsibility for its implementation.



Picture 16: The Town Hall built in 1833-38, now National Museum

Pančevo conservation area

Pančevo historic city centre was designated as a conservation area by Pančevo Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in 1972 (Pokrajinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Novi Sad, 1972). In 1991 designated conservation area has been categorised as a cultural monument of the great importance (Pokrajinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Novi Sad, 1991).

According to the Decision about the designation of Pančevo conservation area, the main reason for the designation was that the street network and other urban elements formed at the time of the first Regulation Plans at the beginning of the 19th century have been well preserved (Picture 17) (Pokrajinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Novi Sad, 1972). Pančevo's the most important buildings are the Church of the

Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, the Town Hall, the Red Warehouse and Weifert Brewery (Picture 18).



Picture 17: Pančevo, postcard from the 1933 (aerial photo)

A part of the historic city centre is as well the 'Old Industrial Area of Pančevo' that spreads along the left bank of Tamiš River. The old industrial area of Pančevo is of a national significance, in spite of the fact that during the long period of neglect, this area has lost some of its authenticity. Weifert Brewery is one of its most important buildings. It is also the oldest brewery on the Balkan Peninsula, as it was built in 1722. The Red Warehouse, built in 1724, still has its original, highly engineered wooden construction. The other industrial buildings protected as cultural monuments include: 'Provijent' Warehouse, the Uptown Mill, Electric bulbs factory 'Tesla', Glass Factory, Silkworm Farm and Beer bottling Factory (Cizler, 2011).

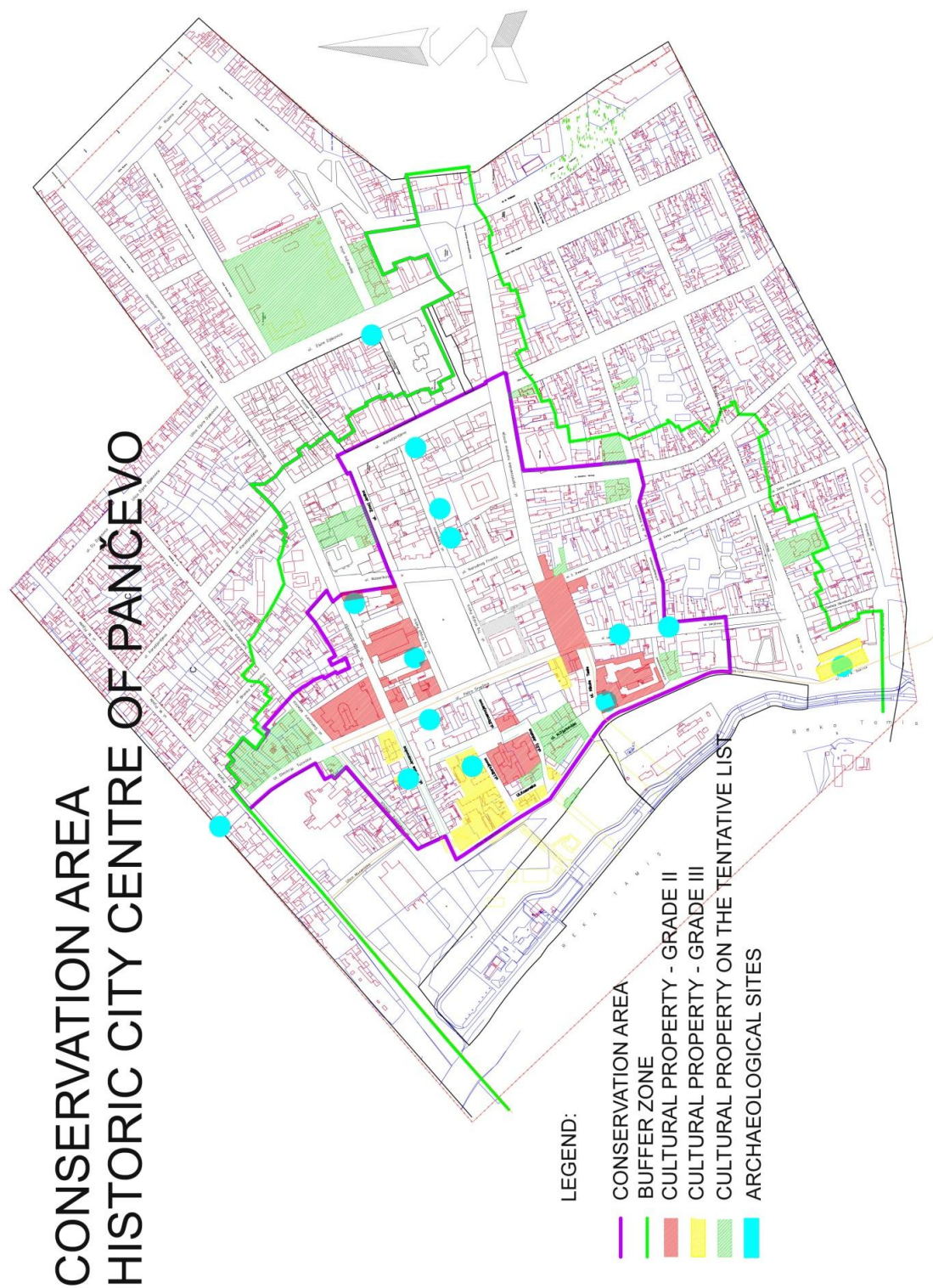
At the turn of the 18th and 19th century, town squares gradually formed, thus creating the historical city centre of Pančevo. Pančevo has a regular urban form with the series of open spaces. The city centre is formed around the Central Square and the Park which are interconnected by a chain of pedestrian paths (Picture 19). Many public and representative buildings that were erected at that time still stand out due to their size and neo-baroque and neo-classical facade decorations (Cizler, 2011). As Pančevo was one of the first cities in the region to industrialise, industrial buildings are incorporated into its urban form both by a size and style. Most of the buildings are two storeys high with small shops and other commercial outlets at the ground floors and

housing facilities upstairs. Towers of the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God and chimneys of the Weifert Brewery dominate the City skyline.



Picture 18: Weifert brewery (postcard from the 1952)

After the Second World War, several highraised buildings were built in the city centre including two tall free-standing social housing buildings and the modern Town Hall (Pušić, 1987). That interrupted Pančevo's very regular urban form.



Picture 19: Map of the historic city centre of Pančevo (Source: the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in Pančevo)

The empirical evidence

The empirical evidence used in this case-study comprise from the policy documents and interviews. Policy documents used in drawing the findings are: the *2009 Spatial Development Plan of the Municipality of Pančevo* (JP "Direkcija za izgradnju i uređenje Pančeva" Pančevo, 2009), the *2008 General Urban Plan for the City of Pančevo* (JP "Direkcija za izgradnju i uređenje Pančeva" Pančevo, 2008), and the *2009 Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo 2010-2015* (Gradska uprava Grada Pančeva, 2009).

The analysis of policy documents has been supported with the evidence obtained from eight in-depth interviews conducted with the various actors involved in the policy process of the historic city centre governance in Pančevo (see Appendix 2 for the complete list of respondents). Preliminary talks with key actors and informants were held in order to identify the main stakeholders in the policy process. Ten key actors were approached for the interviews but two of them refused to take part in the research. Nonetheless, stakeholders interviewed comprised of two planning officers, two conservation officers, two respondents working at the City Council – the Department for Building Permits, and the Department for Construction and Building Inspection –, one respondent working for the non-governmental organisations, and one consultant who worked at the *Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo 2010-2015*. All interviews have been conducted in February and October 2009. Specific guidance notes for the interviews were mailed to the respondents beforehand and the interviews themselves took between 40 minutes and 1 hour and 10 minutes.

Governance of Pančevo historic city centre: policies and ideas

In 2004, the Assembly of Pančevo City Council initiated the work on *Pančevo Spatial Development Plan* that was consequently adopted in 2009 for the area of the Municipality of Pančevo. The decision to do *Pančevo General Urban Plan* was made in 2005 and the Plan was adopted in 2008. In 2009 the Assembly of Pančevo City Council adopted *Strategy of Cultural Development of the City of Pančevo*.

Policy definitions

The 2009 Spatial Development Plan of the Municipality of Pančevo (PSDP) is the main planning document that determines a long-term development of the Municipality of Pančevo. This Plan does not include any statements of the role of the plan, but it makes an effort to explore the reasons for the present state of conservation area and individual cultural properties in Pančevo. The PSDP states that previous attempts to protect cultural heritage were insufficient. It identifies previous activities as: (1) research and designation of the cultural properties, and (2) protection through documentation, research and conservation works. What was missing, according to the PSDP, was paying the attention to the setting of the cultural property, its presentation and more comprehensive research of the conservation area. The PSDP sees the cultural heritage as a potential for the development of the City, but it identifies the industrial heritage to be in the worst situation as its deterioration has negative impact of the overall image of the City because it is located in the city centre. Furthermore, the PSDP states that:

It is desirable to enable and enforce private housing, but must prevent the uncontrolled growth of urban areas. Priority should be given to the rehabilitation of inner-city areas and their reconstruction. (PSDP, p. 32)

The purpose of the 2008 General Urban Plan for the City of Pančevo (GUPP, p. 110) with regard to cultural heritage was to:

- Provide mechanisms for the maximum use of the existing potentials of the City and its valuable cultural heritage;
- Effectively and equally apply the concept of the integrative protection of architectural heritage, public spaces and ambient;
- Preserve quality of the vistas and the silhouette of the City; and
- Establish the identity of Pančevo.

The historic city centre of Pančevo has been identified by the Plan as “*an important centre of the societal life, culture and economy of the City*”. Within the conservation area there are some of the most important cultural properties that are of importance for the cultural identity of the City and its inhabitants.

The Plan promotes Pančevo as a city of culture and tourism. The main purpose of the Plan was to ensure the continuity of the city development and compromise between conservation and development.

The Plan, therefore, protect and promote cultural monuments, conservation area, archaeological sites and places of importance, views and silhouettes, and aims to preserve the values and character of urban space, present all the valuable elements of urban structure and define pathways of continuity of growth and development. (GUP, p.217)

The Plan indicated that the Rules on Permitted Development have been developed by the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and that they were the part of the Plan. However, the Plan did not include the Rules on Permitted Development, and the investors were advised to contact the Institute directly in order to obtain them.

The Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo has been produced as a first document of this kind, not only in Pančevo, but also in Serbia. Adoption of this document in 2009 followed one unsuccessful attempt in 2006. The aim of the Strategy was to establish the main principles based on the depolitization and professionalization of the institutions following the European standards. The Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo aimed at:

Creating identity of the City of Pančevo, improvement of the cultural heritage and its evaluation in accordance with contemporary politics of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue, supporting the development of cultural diversity, opening the institutions for new audiences and new programs, regional integration, are just some of the guidelines offered by this strategy (p. 6).

The aim of the Strategy was to motivate professionals and the citizens to question existing values by creating new cultural development goals in order to enrich the local culture. The strategy emphasised the importance of having clear direction of the cultural development that can only be achieved through collaboration of all stakeholders, specifically emphasising the importance of non-institutional actors, such as independent artists or citizens. In order to help strengthen the links between different sectors, the team who worked on the Strategy organised numerous public debates and consultations. All those activities resulted in the production of the following vision, mission and principles of the Strategy (Text box 1).

The Strategy also emphasised the need for professionalization and improvement of the capacity of the City's administration to deal with the emerging problems in order to be more open for the new ideas and projects.

Text box 1: The vision, mission and principles of the Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo

Vision:

Pančevo as a part of European cultural heritage, where different cultural identities are intertwined, and where conditions for the realization of different cultural expressions continuously develop.

Mission:

The preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage and creation of new values that contribute to the creation of civil society in the environment that is supportive for action of different actors of the cultural life of the City of Pančevo.

Principles:

- Democratization, decentralisation and depolitization in the decision-making process;
- Gender equality in the organisations that make decisions relevant for the creation of cultural politics;
- Equal opportunity for all actors to access funding from the City Budget;
- Partnership between cultural institutions, organizations, associations and individuals in creating and implementing program of the Strategy;
- Participation of the actors from different social categories, vulnerable groups, as creators, and audiences; and
- Social responsibility in communication and collaboration between various actors in the public, private and civil society - in its work, all stakeholders to respect the principle of ethnic and cultural tolerance.

Problems identified by the Strategy:

- The lack of openness of cultural institutions for cooperation with other institutions, civil society and individuals;
- The lack of inter-organisational cooperation;
- Private and public sector lack interest to financially support cultural programs;
- The lack of innovative programs and projects;
- The lack of skilled personnel; and
- Inadequate models of funding.

The Strategy identified the old industrial buildings to have potential for the development of cultural institutions in Pančevo. The old industrial area is located near river Tamis and the historic city centre. Strategy deems it is necessary to re-activate the industrial heritage because there was a lack of space for cultural events, as well as that the adaptation of these buildings to modern needs would prevent from their further deterioration.

The policy solutions

The PSDP did not prescribe any concrete activities, or names the policy actors. The only policy solutions in relation to the conservation of the historic city centre were the reintegration through revitalisation of the area, the awareness raising within the local community, and the further development of skills and capacities of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. In regard to conservation of the single monuments, it only named methods, such as conservation, presentation and sustainable use.

The 2009 Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo 2010-2015 also provided very general policy solutions without reference to any concrete activities. So, the Strategy identified the strengthening of the Institutions and their modernisation as its main goal. Furthermore, it emphasised the importance of building partnerships between the public, private and civil sector, and identified young professionals as the talent pool that was important for the future development of the institutions in Pančevo.

Theoretical concepts

Neither the policy documents nor the respondents interviewed revealed much about their understanding of the theoretical concepts related to heritage conservation or governance of the historic city centres. Still, some insights have emerged. The concept that emerged during the interview with the consultant on the Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo (#21) was the concept of cultural property. The respondent emphasised that cultural properties represent vivid history because:

They are not mere buildings that stand there and do not tell any story. On the contrary, they speak about historical development; they represent living memorial places telling stories that are local and regional. #21

In the respondent's view, the concept of cultural property was linked to the local, regional and national history, and that should be preserved for the future generations. The respondent also clarified her understanding of the cultural development.

Cultural development is the improvement, [...] and includes cultural institutions and their work, associations and their work, voluntary organisations, informal groups and alternative scene. So, in total, all work in culture that contributes to raising awareness about the importance of culture as the essential part of human life. #21

The respondent emphasised the importance of the various sectors and their collaborative work towards achieving agreed goals, the consumers and their active involvement in the projects, and the role institutions play in ensuring informal education of the future generations.

Skills and organisational learning

The consultant on the Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo (#21) reported on the lack of skills related to the project management and grant applications. In the respondent's opinion, governmental organisations undermine the importance of developing the skills needed for effective work on funding applications.

We need to train people to do project management, to write applications for funding in order to engage in large projects. #21

The respondent also felt that local governmental organisations rely too much on funding available from the Budget and do not consider the European funding schemes as an opportunity. She further emphasised that during the work on the Strategy, actors recognised the importance of defining concrete project activities and assigning the institution to be responsible for their implementation. In the respondent's opinion, it was also important to assess the situation first in order to be able to develop the projects.

Ideas

Several respondents (#17, #18, #19, #20 and #21) expressed their concern about the poor state of the industrial buildings in Pančevo. There was a belief among them that industrial buildings that were now mainly empty could be used as office space, cultural institutions, restaurants, tourist attractions or simply again as industrial buildings. They all agreed that it would be very hard to adapt them for new uses. However, senior conservation officers (#19 and #20) argued that it was also hard to find an investor who would be willing to respect the Rules on Permitted Development issued by the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. In addition, the lack of guidance on how the City should develop contributed to the lack of ideas and interest for the industrial buildings.

Investor really has to be interested in a particular cultural property in order to decide to invest here. If we would have a plan that would state that this City should be a touristy, or ... [sight] #20

The senior conservation officer (#20) reported that there was a plan to implement the project that would introduce 'the management plan' for the revitalisation of one of the industrial buildings in Pančevo. The respondent hoped that such a project, implemented in partnership with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, would mark the shift to a long-term planning of conservation activities, which was not the case so far. The respondent was of the opinion that having a management plan would ensure dedication of all the actors involved.

Political and economic factors

Organisational power, strategic position, prestige, authority

Several respondents (#18, #19, #20 and #21) reported that there was a lack of communication both on an interorganisational level and between politicians and professionals. The consultant on the Cultural Strategy for Pančevo (#21) attributed that to the elitism of the institutions that regarded their field of work to be their territory only. Because of that, institutions have lost touch with their end users.

Elitism in cultural institutions is the problem; that huge distance in what we do and for whom we do it. So, those working in cultural institutions should become aware that they are not above and that they do not do their job for themselves. #21

The senior planning officer (#18) felt that such situation contributed to low levels of horizontal interorganisational collaboration and in return strengthened vertical links.

The senior conservation officer (#20) felt that the City Council was perceived as "not powerful enough to assign appropriate function and to preserve a cultural property." Furthermore, the consultant on the Cultural Strategy for Pančevo (#21) emphasised that governmental organisations were very static and were waiting for the State of the City Council to tell them what to do:

If we want to do something, we cannot wait for the State or City Council to tell us what to do. We have to move, to change from being static, which is a problem, because these cultural institutions are very static, and that is a major problem.
#21

Decision-making process and policy coordination

The senior planning officer (#17) reported on the attempt to initiate the project to renew the facades in the conservation area. The initiative came out of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and the Town Planning Agency in 2004. The main idea was that City should be responsible for the renewal of the facades, while the owners should be responsible for their regular maintenance. The respondent was of the opinion that owners would not be able to reach the agreement themselves and that the City should lead this project. As there was no political backing, this initiative did not materialise.

A frequent complaint amongst the respondents (#17, #19 and #20) was that actions were selective, and taken only in the last moment to prevent more damage being done to the cultural properties. There were no indications of the determination to systematically work on preservation of the conservation area. The senior conservation officer (#20) felt that the City Council was very selective when deciding where to invest. Furthermore, senior conservation officer (#19) felt that City Council was susceptible to pressure from the public.

If there is a little more pressure about something, the City will react. If a cultural property is about to collapse, as for instance Hotel Vojvodina, everyone will wonder why it is falling down when it is listed as a cultural property. And then they [the City] understand their obligation, in the sense that they provide necessary financial resources. #19

Respondent (#19) also expressed her concern that decisions in relation to cultural properties preservation were motivated by political reasons, rather than as a result of care for the heritage.

If it's some kind of anniversary that year, like when it was 100 years of building the Lighthouses, again they were very open for cooperation in this regard. So, it is not that they do not cooperate; it depends on the needs. They prioritize what is more important to them. #19

Furthermore, respondent (#19) emphasised that cultural heritage was used for political representation of a political party in power as such events were used for a political promotion and populist rhetoric revolving around those who care for their city and others that don't.

The senior planning officer (#17) felt that political instability had great impact on the decision-making process which was further exacerbated by the fact that the procedures were too long and that each new local government was starting from the beginning. Because of that, there was no continuity or long-term planning.

All our procedures are very long, meaning bureaucracy. Procedure for the Cultural Property Designation lasts at best 3 to 4 years. And then, a complete change of government, and each time it all starts all-over again. #17

The project manager from the civil sector (#24) thought that projects take a great deal of time to be realised due to the funding issues, but that change of the local government could pose the threat of losing previously-agreed funding from the governmental institutions. The respondent explained how her organisation (REFRACT) had to give up on project:

We received funding from the City. Of course, that was not enough, so we applied at the NIP [National Investment Plan] but we were refused. We kept trying to secure funding unsuccessfully. In the meantime, the local government changed. #24

The senior conservation officer (#19) reported about power asymmetry between the conservation and planning. Namely, due to political pressure, decisions of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection were changed without consultations. In the respondent's opinion, Institute's decisions were changed by the City or the Department for Building Permits when there was a pressure from the investor.

Seriously, it's an interesting phenomenon when they [the City or the Department for Building Permits] say "well, now if the Institute let you do this." That is very unpleasant, because these people [the investors] are very disturbing for us and simply it is not right to have all eyes on us. #19

Both senior planning officers interviewed (#17 and #18) reported that cultural heritage was not identified to be a priority in the planning documents. One of them, (#17), felt

that investing in built heritage preservation has been viewed as a problem. The respondent referred to local politicians as an obstacle.

Any action concerning a protected cultural property or a building under some degree of protection is a big problem to someone, and therefore it is abandoned at the very beginning. #17

The other senior planning officer (#18) reported that there was insufficient money available in the budget for the built heritage preservation due to the economic crisis.

Economic and financial factors

Both conservation officers interviewed (#19 and #20) felt that Pančevo City Council allocates funding for the built heritage preservation projects only as a last resort to prevent fatal consequences. Senior conservation officer (#20) reported that the remaining funding from the City Council's budget has been allocated to those projects "that require a minimum investment". Both respondents interviewed (#19 and #20) reported that being aware of such circumstances, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection decided only to apply for the minimal funding for most important cultural properties that were on its priority list hoping to get some funding from the City. In the respondents' opinion, available funding is insufficient to match even those needs, but further problems occur as the City Council allocate the resources available in an arbitrary way; the City Council is not taking into consideration the priority list of works and cultural properties to be protected made by conservation officers, and, as respondents felt, made 'politically motivated' decisions when deciding which projects to support. As previously mentioned, the City Council would make a decision to act if pressured by the wider public or if it was related to some anniversary, such in the case of the 100 Years of Lighthouses.

Asked to comment on what was the major problem in finding new functions for the cultural properties that are out of use, such as the industrial buildings in the city centre, the built heritage development consultant (#21) named the lack of funding for the planning stage.

Everything is still at the level of planning and project development because all necessary documentation is quite expensive to produce. The City, the local government, simply cannot fund all these steps. #21

Respondent (#21), who worked on the Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo as a consultant, reported that they were very aware of the lack of funding opportunities for the cultural heritage conservation in general, as well as that spatial development strategies were not assigning any priority status to conservation activities and that therefore it is hard to find funding for project aiming to preserve cultural properties. This was even acknowledged in the Cultural Strategy. Therefore the team of professionals who worked on the Cultural Strategy together with the City Council decided to design the way to support built heritage conservation activities by reforming the City's Budget and assigning a separate line in order to support funding of the projects aiming to preserve built heritage and especially industrial heritage.

Management, cultural and personal factors

Policy coordination to great extent depends on having adequate communication and collaboration channels established across sectors and organisations. This topic looks at respondents' interpretation of the interrelatedness of local organisational culture, interorganisational collaboration and established partnerships and how those impact on the policy coordination process.

Interorganisational coordination

The senior administrator at the Department for Building Permits (#22) felt that there are organisational boundaries that could be insurmountable for some policy actors. Respondent specifically pointed at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and their relationship with other organisations.

It is the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection who decides on buildings' design and Rules on the Permitted Development. We all withdraw then; their decision has a primacy over ours. When they approve project documentation, we just sign it. #22

In the respondent's view, the Institute's understanding of their role of being guardians of cultural heritage in the City contributes to the fragmentation and the lack of collaboration with other organisations. Communication has been dominated by how the Institute uses it to reinforce their decisions through planning documents and Rules on the Permitted Development. When asked if cultural properties are untouchable,

respondent (#22) replied “*the Institute’s Rules on the Permitted Development must be conformed to*”, therefore clearly indicating that those decisions are not to be criticised or negotiated.

The senior planning officer (#17) felt that the law regulated each organisation’s role and responsibility, which in return contributed to institutional fragmentation and the existence of the institutional boundaries:

Everyone has his law that defined his authority and responsibility, and I don’t have to see ever any conservation officer, or anyone from the Department for Building and Construction Permits. Law allows us to do that. What’s more, if I initiate a project I might become suspicious; why would I do something that is not my job? I must have some interests to do that or I went past my authority. #17

In the respondent’s view, these boundaries exist because of the policy incoherence and policy lacunae that contribute to the lack of interorganisational collaboration (Peters, 1998; Perri 6, 2002).

Both senior planning officers interviewed (#17 and #18) were of the opinion that there was no shared strategic direction of the organisations involved in the process of the historic city centre’s governance. As the main reason for such situation, respondents emphasised that there was no political leadership that would determine the direction of the strategy:

We have no idea where this city is heading. We have no idea, and we have no information about what someone at the top [respondent refers to the politicians] would want to gain from this City. #18

Even though, the respondent (#18) thought that it was not the planning officers’ responsibility to take more decisive leadership but that of local politicians therefore refusing any professional responsibility for the situation.

Several respondents – both senior conservation officers (#19 and #20) and senior planning officers (#17 and #18) – reported on feeling isolated from the institutional milieu in Pančevo, professionally and as members of their institutions. It was the researchers’ understanding that the top-down decision-making that had been replicated among sectors contributed to this feeling. Contrary to that, the comprehensive model of spatial planning which is in place in Serbia is based on the principles of multi-sectoral partnerships and interorganisational collaboration. Current

models of coordination were via hierarchy and command. Hierarchy between actors in the policy process creates ineffective collaborative environment even if there were the resources to do it, while existing networks and links among policy actors create positive environment for policy coordination (Child, 1973; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Even though the senior town planning officer (#17) was aware that the hierarchy between actors in the policy process created problems, she was still unable to act; her role and responsibilities were to follow the law which is limited by the narrow understanding of the town planning officer job description. When asked about professional responsibility, respondent (#17) replied *“if I initiate a project I might become suspicious; why would I do something that is not my job? I must have some interests to do that”*. In the respondent's view, the only instruments used to achieve coordination were formal regulations, hence no mutual initiatives or joint projects.

Collaboration

The senior planning officer (#18) reported on problems encountered due to the lack of interorganisational collaboration and communication. It was the respondent's opinion that current legislation made it possible for organisations not to communicate and collaborate. In terms of spatial planning practice in Pančevo that resulted in having two maps accompanying 2008 General Urban Plan – *‘Regulation and Levelling’* map and *‘Protection of the Environment and Natural and Cultural Goods’* map – not synchronised. Respondent (#18) felt that in such situation, the person in charge of issuing the Building Permit could only interpret the information presented by these two separated maps. However, in case of the cultural properties, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection have the final say and can overrule any other decision contained in those maps.

The senior planning officer (#17) thought that current legislation – Cultural Heritage Act (1994), and Planning and Construction Act (2009) – were missing the link that would define how interorganisational collaboration should take place. The respondent was concerned that frequent changes of the Planning and Construction Act (in 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2011) resulted in numerous incoherencies with the Cultural Heritage Act (1994) that further impeded interorganisational collaboration. The respondent pointed out the problems related to terminology used by both laws:

What is written in one law, it is not a reconstruction in the second law. And then when we say: ‘but my law says so, and yours is different’ – like that not all laws

are our laws, and then it seems that the best way is that each of us stick to its own law that gives him or her the authority and responsibility. #17

The consultant on the Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo (#21) reported that a special effort has been deployed to ensure active participation of all sectors and organisations identified in Pančevo in preparation of the Strategy. Their participation was important in order to ensure that different opinions were taken into account, as well as to collect the data and information about the state of the sectors. The wider public was also included through surveys, interviews and public debates:

All organizations involved in arts and crafts and preservation of tradition, private galleries, private sector, were included. We had there the owner of the private art gallery, cafe-gallery with an exhibition area. We contacted citizens through surveys and interviews, and in public debates that were organized so all sectors were covered. #21

The respondent was particularly positive about the fact that a multitude of actors and sectors were involved, that communication between actors was established in a transparent way, and that consensus was reached over the choice of strategic activities.

Inertia of the governmental organisations

The Consultant who worked on the Cultural Strategy (#21) felt that governmental organisations in Pančevo were inert in terms of initiation of the projects and securing funding. She highlighted that:

We have to make a move; to get out of the static state of mind, which is a problem, because these cultural institutions are very static, and that is a major problem. #21

In the respondent's view, governmental organisations showed *the lack of leadership* by waiting for the State or the City Council to make a decision and initiate projects. In contrast, the civil sector demonstrated determination and leadership by identifying the problems and acting upon in. The respondent felt that governmental organisations should learn from it:

These organisations provide salaries for their employees; provide funding for programs, implement projects. So they survive, and manage to keep going without any help, while we wait for what comes from the City Council or other State funds. #21

Respondent (#21) emphasised the importance of governmental organisations learning how to get funding from the European funding schemes available for cross-border cooperation of the non-EU and EU countries, e.g. Serbia and Hungary, Romania or Bulgaria:

This question of funding was always seen here as a big problem, while millions of Euro a year just go by. Romanians are sending back money for cross-border cooperation projects with Serbia, because there are no project partners in Serbia. #21

The senior administrator at the Department for Building Permits (#22) felt that professional rigidity of the conservation officers was holding back potential investors from investing in cultural properties, mainly industrial buildings that are out of function and situated within the historic city centre. The respondent expressed her concerns about the Provijent Warehouse listed cultural property, which was thought to be in the worst state of all industrial buildings. In this case, conservation officers issued very rigid Rules on the Permitted Development, which resulted in potential investor giving up of the project.

Some time ago, a man who wanted to reconstruct it, so that he can use it as a storage space for the electrical appliances he sells, contacted the Institute. All in all, every time someone uses the building, if nothing else, he or she will clean it, paint the walls, and maintain it in some way. They [Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection] issued so rigorous preservation criteria. #22

When asked about this case, the senior conservation officer (#17) didn't feel that the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection was to blame. In the respondent's view, historic buildings with such a specific function are always difficult to adapt to new functions, especially if considerable investment was needed to revitalise the property.

Bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation

Respondents generally reported on two issues that involve wider coordination between the departments – action against the unauthorised construction works and the adoption of planning documents. Any attempt by the researcher to address other procedures or a work of the administration failed because respondents insisted that it all happens according to the law. However, some respondents expressed their concern about the problems related to systemic failure of the institutions to plan ahead in order to avoid the pitfalls due to the lack of the coordination between the departments. Examples of those are related to policy incoherence and policy lacunae, and will be discussed in detail.

The unauthorised construction works

The Head of the Department for Building Inspection (#23) reported that, in practice, sometimes investors and developers simply do not comply with the Rules on Permitted Development, in which case both investor and developers are taken responsible.

In practice, it happens that they do not even ask for the opinion from the Institute and do some modifications on the protected building on their own. #23

Respondent (#23) explained that in these cases, Inspection goes to the building site – either if someone reports it, or as a part of a regular control –, determines the facts and initiates the procedure.

We start by recording current situation, what kind of activities are taking place, what is at stake, and later make the decisions whether to stop construction works. Then we ask the investor to collect further documentation. In some cases they are given a period of 30 days to do so. If not, then further procedure is carried out. We write the decision to suspend construction works. Then if they do not comply even with that, then we proceed with the criminal charges. #23

The respondent (#23) was particularly positive about the changes in the 2009 Planning and Construction Act that introduced tougher coercive measures, including fines of 1 to 3 million dinars [10.000 - 30.000 pounds], or criminal charges under the threat of imprisonment from 3 to 8 years.

Planning documents' adoption procedure

The senior administrator at the Department for Building Permits (#22) reported on how planning documents are subjected to the expert control and public consultation process. The respondent felt that Planning Commission ensure expert's control over the quality of the planning documents as it takes place twice during the process of its adoption.

After objections – or if Planning Commission has no objections –, the Town Planning Agency proceeds with drafting of the planning document. That draft is subjected to the same expert control. #22

In the respondent's opinion, the full transparency was ensured by the public consultations that take place after the expert control.

The draft [of the planning document] is made publically available and that is advertised in media and local newspapers. Public consultations last for 30 days. During the process of public consultations, relevant legal entities and organizations can make remarks. #22

Respondent (#22) thought that one public consultation of 30 days is enough time and opportunity to ensure general public and all interested parties to be involved in the process of governance of the historic city centre of Pančevo. Respondent particularly emphasised the importance of expert control over all planning documents as in her opinion that ensures prevalence of expert knowledge in the issues of urban governance over the interests of individuals.

Capacity to deal with the emerging issues

Project manager in the nongovernmental organisation REFRACT Team (#24) reported on the situation where her organisation had to find a way to implement the project but there were no established procedures in place. The project aimed to regenerate one abandoned public space between two buildings that could be used as a local park and playground for children.

When we got to the point where we should implement the project, somehow we found it to be difficult. They were not even rejecting us, but were always sending

us away, because we have never found the people who are responsible for some non-standard activities that we wanted to do. #24

In order to find a solution to the problem, this organisation worked with the administrators from various City Council's Departments. Together they tried to work out some solution as that space belonged to the surrounding buildings that also had complicated ownership.

One part of the area between buildings was privately owned – various companies, organizations, businesses – and the other part belongs to the City. We have received confirmation from the City that we can intervene there and improve existing situation, but we were not allowed to create new elements in the space; we were only allowed to improve what was already there. #24

By pointing out this example, the respondent emphasised her general feeling that policy lacuna coupled with the bureaucratised way of dealing with the issues in Pančevo contribute to the lack of the capacity of local government to deal with the emerging issues.

Policy incoherence

The Head of the Department for Building Inspection (#23) reported on policy incoherence that contributed to an ongoing problem City of Pančevo has with the designated cultural property Hotel Vojvodina (see Picture 20), Hotel Vojvodina, built in 1912, is in a very bad state that it poses a threat, as it can easily collapse, and it is out of use for a long period of time.

In 1997, although the building was in ruined state, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection listed it as a cultural property. Probably that person did not even go out to see what kind of building it is and in what condition it is. And now we have a problem where we have exhausted all legal means to reach the solution. #23



Picture 20: Hotel Vojvodina, Pančevo (picture taken in 2010)

The Department for Building Inspection issued the decision that this building posed a threat to safety and secured the site in 2002. Ever since then, the litigation process has been ongoing. The Department cannot pull down the building as it is a designated cultural property, while the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection hesitated to start the procedure of removal from the Cultural Properties' Registry hoping to find some funding for its renewal.

There is simply a contradiction between the laws. We cannot demolish the building, because it is already demolished. We cannot clear the debris, because we need permission from the Institute. We cannot remove it from the list of protected cultural properties because that process takes 4 to 5 years. #23

Respondent (#23) emphasised that there were an ongoing consultations between the Department for Building Inspection and the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in order to find the solution for the problem.

We have a situation where a building is ruined, forbidden for use, and we have to find some agreements in our consultations with experts in specific fields in order to solve this problem. #23

The senior conservation officer (#19) reported that the Institute Cultural Heritage Preservation applied for funding from the City Council for the renewal of this cultural property but was refused all the times.

Policy lacunae

The senior administrator at the Department for Building Permits (#22) expressed her concern about the fact that Rules on Permitted Development were not a part of any of the planning documents. Instead, only very general guidelines exist:

We have guidelines on permitted development for the individual cultural properties listed in a conservation area. We send that to the Institute and they issue the Rules on the Permitted Development for that particular cultural property. We then compare them with what was in the Plan. If they don't overlap, Institute's Rules are older. #22

Another two respondents – senior planning officer (#17) and senior conservation officer (#18) – also criticised the way how the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection issue the Rules on Permitted Development for the new building built within the conservation area. They referred to the lack of collaboration between planning and conservation officers in that process. The senior planning officer (#17) emphasised that incongruence between the laws in practice can create a problem where newly built buildings situated within the boundaries of the conservation area would not comply with the standards in built heritage conservation and urban designing practice. The respondent explained the problem using hypothetical example:

Let's say a construction of the new building between two designated cultural properties. Town planners really don't care about the building. All they are interested in is the setting. Conservation officers issue the Rules on Permitted Development, and they, let's say, state that the building must not be higher than GF+2 or higher than the ridge of adjacent cultural properties' roofs; it must be made of natural materials, it must have a plain roof tiles, it must follow a rhythm on the facades of the surrounding cultural properties, have an even number of openings, and so on. And that is where conservation officers completely exhausted their powers, and architects are left the freedom to design the building under these conditions. Town planners did their job already. They gave their density index, and investor fitted in. Investor invited architect with the licence to design this building. The Department for Building Permits furthermore says

'conservation officers didn't say but you have a right to have a dormer window, this or that kind of gutters'. He fits in, and everything is perfect, and he gets the permit, because he did everything in accordance to all possible rules. And when that building is finished, people stop and say 'what is this'? What does this look like? And they all did a great job. Everyone did what is under his or her authority.
#17

In the respondent's view, this example (see also Picture 21) illustrates problems that were rooted in the strictly sectoral and departmental culture of the decision-making that is further entrenched in the laws. The respondent referred to the lack of communication between sectors and departments that contributed to the inability of the actors to negotiate actions towards coherent solutions. Lack of communication was further exacerbated because, by the law, the departments involved in the decision-making process are not required to communicate. Respondent (#17) further emphasised that there were gaps between the roles and responsibilities of different sectors and departments involved in the process of joint decision-making. Still, there was a widespread agreement that preservation of the urban setting should be included in the Rules on Permitted Development. Respondents #17, #18 and #22 emphasised the negative impact the current situation had - in certain cases - on the conservation area integrity. However, respondents did not agree on how this should be regulated. The Head of the Department for the Building Permits (#22) suggested that this should be a job for Planning Commission. One senior planning officer (#18) didn't know, and the other (#17) suggested that City Architect should be in charge.

How that the architecture in general looks like as a planner I am not interested, unfortunately. That is right; no one wants that responsibility, because no one gave it to him. Then you see that here simply one body is missing, a 'Council of Wise Men', or a City Architect. #17

As a reason for this policy lacunae, town planners (#17 and #18) blame the fact that the Cultural Heritage Act (1996) is outdated as it hasn't been updated since the mid 1990s while in the same time, The Planning and Construction Act has been changed numerous times, in 1995, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2011. In practice, this means that these legal documents are not providing a coherent legal framework for policy coordination in practice. The main problems stated to cause problems are often opposing terminology used by the two laws and the lack of management instruments for the conservation areas.



Picture 21: An example of the building that have all necessary permits but doesn't fit into its setting

We have a problem with normal communication. What reconstruction is in one law, it is not a reconstruction in the second law. And then we say – ‘but in my law it is so, and yours is different’ – as not all our laws correspond to each other and then it turns out that the best way to do any work is just to keep within your own jurisdiction and responsibility. #17

Senior planning officer (#17) and conservation officer (#19) were particularly negative about the current legal framework that provides no tax relief or subsidies for the owners of cultural properties, but at the same time impose extra costs and obligations - as by the law the owners have an obligation to invest in the maintenance of their properties.

Discussion

A number of insights related to contextual and interpretive aspects of the policy process have shaped the approach to governance of the historic city centre in Pančevo. Because of the complexity of policy processes, the findings presented here mapped some of the key issues that sometimes even cut across various analytical

categories in order to advance the understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centre of Pančevo. In so doing, the findings presented here consider different sides of the issues and implications of these before reaching a conclusion.

Analysing the interviews and policy documents revealed that certain contextual factors influence governance of the historic city centre in Pančevo, in particular *political interference*, *political instability*, *culture of short-term planning*, and *lack of leadership*. As mentioned in the literature review, political interference and instability creates volatility that in return could affect long-term planning (Halpert, 1982). A number of respondents reported that decisions in relation to cultural properties were motivated by political reasons, rather than as a result of care for the heritage. Political interfering was particularly pronounced in relation to celebrations and anniversaries, as then heritage has been used as an instrument of political legitimisation and promotion. Also, several respondents reported that actions were selective, and taken only in the last moment to prevent more damage being done to the cultural properties. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that political instability had an impact on the decision-making process in terms that each new local government was starting from the beginning. As a consequence, there was no continuity or long-term planning. For instance, there was no leadership and political backing for producing a management plan that would determine a long-term strategy for the historic city centre conservation. Taken together, political steering in Pančevo is characterised by political instability and interference, no continuity in planning and lack of leadership.

The analysis found that local governance in Pančevo is characterised by *fragmentation* which manifests as a strong division between governmental departments. *Departmentalism* is a reflection of the structure within which polity operates and it represents a concentration of power and resources within clearly defined departments or sectors (Kavanagh & Richards, 2001). The analysis found several causes for departmentalism, namely insurmountable institutional boundaries caused by domain defensiveness and professional defensiveness, and lack of horizontal steering, communication and collaboration.

Domain defensiveness here is the consequence of a tendency towards protection of the organisational authority (Alexander, 1995). The analysis revealed that there is a strong division of responsibilities between the institutions which in return contributed to fragmentation and lack of collaboration. Several respondents reported that this is due to the legal incongruence that supports fragmentation and boundary non-

permeability. Namely, very narrow understanding of what one's role is and no history of previous relationships act as a mechanism that prevents boundary permeability, interdependencies and internal adjustments necessary for coordinative endeavours to happen. As Alexander (1995) and Halpert (1982) assert those could be a reflection of the institutionalisation of welfare structure in terms of the division of responsibilities (professionalization), especially when that institutionalisation happens over a prolonged period of time.

Professional defensiveness here is a consequence of the lack of shared understandings of policy issues, no culture of collaboration, professional inertia, and lack of willingness to learn. These findings support previous research of Challis et al (1988) and Stead and Meijers (2009). For instance, Stead and Meijers (2009) assert that when shared understanding of policy issues is absent, it opens the doors for professional defensiveness. Here, shared understandings of policy issues are hard to broker due to insurmountable institutional boundaries and domain defensiveness. The analysis revealed that governmental organisations in Pančevo are inert and display lack of leadership because they are waiting for politicians to make decisions and initiate projects. In contrast, the civil sector demonstrates determination and leadership by identifying the problems and acting upon in. In the same time, the analysis found very little evidence of interorganisational collaboration. The most likely reasons for that is no previous history of relations that resulted in lack of channels of communication, no boundary permeability, strong departmental culture and lack of horizontal steering. As a consequence, departments, or sectors in this case, became separated and fragmented (Alexander, 1995; Halpert, 1982).

The analysis found that there are very *strong vertical ties and hierarchy* within the sectors. Several respondents reported on feeling isolated from the institutional milieu in Pančevo, indicating as reasons the lack of horizontal collaboration and top-down decision making. These results indicate that consensus over collaboration within sectors have to be brokered and maintained at the executive levels, that is to say, at the meta-coordination level (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, policy actors are directly subordinated to the higher tiers of command. That resulted in strong hierarchy, respect for another's role and professional domain and creates ineffective collaborative environment. Furthermore, several respondents reported that due to strong departmentalism and professional defensiveness, organisations in Pančevo regard their professional field to be their territory only, which resulted in them losing a touch with the end users. Accordingly, the analysis did not find any evidence of the local strategic partnerships

in place apart from those legally binding, while several respondents reported that the only instruments used to achieve coordination were formal regulations.

Analysing interviews and policy documents demonstrated existence of *fuzzy lines of accountability*. Maccullum and Hopkins (2011) emphasise that planning documents reflect on how the authority and resources has been distributed as they focus on representation of power, rights and responsibilities, and look at the roles various actors have in planning. The analysis revealed that none of the three planning documents – the PSDP, the GUPP and the 2009 Cultural Strategy – identify which policy actors or institutions would take the responsibility to implement planning objectives. Moreover, none of the institutions was entrusted with the responsibility for its implementation. However, it could be said that responsibility here has been institutionalized in the disciplines, such as planning and heritage conservation. This combination of findings points to possible *lack of accountability*. Accountability is important for ensuring implementation of any plan because it obliges policy actor or an institution to act on behalf of someone or for a public interest (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004).

One unanticipated finding was that in order to avoid problems with conservation professionals, planners excluded Rules on the Permitted Development from the planning documents. In practice that means that works on protected cultural properties and all other buildings in the historic city centre should be authorised by the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. In such circumstances, conservation professionals feel exposed and sometimes under pressure by some of the investors. This finding was unexpected and suggests that some policy actors would rather avoid problems than engage in finding a solution.

Another important interpretive factor is *perception of a relative power*. As mentioned in the literature review, the perception of a relative power of the members in the policy process is a powerful factor as it could affect organisations' attitudes to policy coordination (Alexander, 1995; Mandell & Steelman, 2003; Pierre, 2000). Several respondents reported on power asymmetries that exist between conservation and planning professionals in favour of the latter. A possible reason for this might be a combination of factors – professional defensiveness, domain defensiveness and lack of communication and collaboration – that are mutually reinforcing. Each one of those factors also contributes to boundary non-permeability and lack of communication therefore hampering policy coordination process.

Another important insight regards the work of civil sector. The analysis found that civil actors could potentially play a role of the game changers as they actively contribute to building relationships between the policy actors by introducing collaboration, partnerships, joint venture, and new ideas. The analysis also found that civil society has already established channels of communication and collaboration among various nongovernmental actors while working on the 2009 Cultural Strategy for the City of Pančevo 2010-2015.

Conclusions

This Chapter has mapped some of the key issues, policy actors and ideas in regard to governance of the historic city centre of Pančevo. Firstly, it provided a background on nature of the planning context and character of the conservation area. Then, it offered an analysis of the empirical evidence consisting of the policy documents and interviews conducted with the various professionals. In so doing, it was made possible to appreciate the full complexity of narratives, including its intertextuality and intersubjectivity and therefore offer the 'tick description' of the practice of governance of the historic city centre in Pančevo.

This Chapter outlined various issues that contribute to the lack of capacity for policy coordination in Pančevo. For instance, the analysis shown that planning and implementation mechanism are not developed enough to allow for policy coordination to happen and that hierarchical model of the decision-making processes is in conflict with the comprehensive planning model, as it supports non-permeability of the institutional boundaries, and professional and domain defensiveness. Furthermore, the integration of heritage conservation into planning is very difficult due to lack of communication and collaboration which is a result of the culture of departmentalism. However, the study provided evidence that suggests that various policy actors from the civil sector have a capacity to play the role of change agent and to introduce collaboration and new types of partnerships and joint ventures.

CHAPTER 7: Kragujevac Case Study

Introduction

Kragujevac is the capital city of the Šumadija Region situated at the central part of the Republic of Serbia. According to 2011 Census, the City of Kragujevac had a population of 147.281 inhabitants (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2012). The City's population has increased 72% since the Second World War which is much more than overall population increase both in Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia for the same period. Kragujevac is now the fourth largest city in Serbia after Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, and the second largest city in Central Serbia.

According to the 2011 Census the largest ethnic groups are Serbs (95.9%) and the dominant religion is Orthodox Christianity (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2012). In 2009 manufacturing generated 46.10% of the revenue at the territory of Kragujevac Municipality. In terms of the employment structure, two sectors were dominant with nearly half of the workers being employed there – private sector (23,4%) and manufacturing (23,4%) (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2009).

The City of Kragujevac had played important role in Serbian's history. Its name comes from 'Kraguj' which was a bird for hunting; similar to falcons. Kragujevac territory joined the Serbian state in the 12th century after Stefan Nemanja overtook it from the Byzantines (Radovanović, 1996; Macura, 1984). After the fall of the Serbian State under the Ottoman rule in 1456, Kragujevac developed as a significant settlement. During the long Ottoman rule, the territory of the city also fell twice under the Austrian rule (Radovanović, 1996). During the First Serbian uprising in 1813, the city was liberated from the Ottomans for a short period of time, while the final liberation only came in 1815 (Macura, 1984; Radovanović, 1996; Trifunović, 2003).



Picture 22: The main street in Kragujevac

The turning point and the most important period in the development of the city started in 1818 when Prince Miloš Obrenović declared Kragujevac to be the capital of Serbia. During the next period, planned development of the city has started as it became the administrative, political, cultural, military, and economic centre of Serbia (Radovanović, 1996; Trifunović, 2003). In 1841 the City of Belgrade again became the administrative capital of Serbia so Kragujevac lost its prominence in Serbia. However, in 1851, the Gun Foundry has been moved to Kragujevac and in 1883 the 'Military Technical Institute' was founded together with some other institutions which conditioned huge migrations of the labour to the city (Kadijević, 2012; Trifunović, 2003).

During the First World War Kragujevac again became the capital city of Serbia as Regent Aleksandar Karadjordjević moved there together with the military command of the Serbian army led by Radomir Putnik (Radovanović, 1996). Between the wars Kragujevac became the revolutionary and ideological centre of the working class. The biggest tragedy struck this city during the Second World War on 21 October 1941 when following their losses in the battle with Partisans, German forces shot 20.000 inhabitants, men, women, students and young children. On the same date, 21 October in 1944, Kragujevac was liberated from the Nazi occupation.

The planning context

In 1818 Kragujevac became the capital of Serbia and since then planned development of the city has began. The new capital city had to be redeveloped in order to serve its new function (Macura, 1984; Radovanović, 1996). So Prince Miloš Obrenović built the new city centre that included the Palace Complex (Picture 25), the Assembly, the Old Church (Picture 26), Diocese, Army Arsenal, Theatre (Picture 23), schools, barracks, pharmacies, hospitals and many other buildings. Around them the new Kragujevac has developed.

From the mid 19th century, the spatial development of the city was entrusted to the trained professionals who tried to make Kragujevac to look like a European city (Macura, 1984). This process culminated in the 1891, when 'The Regulation Plan of the City of Kragujevac' was adopted and many new buildings and facilities were built – the rail and road network, the new Gymnasium, the New Church, Cannon Foundry, railway stations and other (Radovanović, 1996; Trifunović, 2003).



Picture 23: Theatre Joakim Vujčić in Kragujevac



Picture 24: Amidža Residence (left) and the Cannon Foundry (right)



Picture 25: Knez Mihailo Residence (left) and Miloš Church (right, photograph by Strujajoe)

In 1910, a very ambitious program called 'For the Improved Kragujevac' was adopted (Radovanović, 1996). The program included a number of interventions, such as the building of streets, water supply, public lighting system, sewer infrastructure and tramways. The Balkan Wars and the First World War disrupted the implementation of this program.



Picture 26: The old Church (photograph by Strujajoe)

Period between the two world wars was characterized by the reconstruction and development of the Military Technical Institute, in the early 1920s (Trifunović, 2003). Before the World War II, Kragujevac had some 12,000 workers employed at the Military Technical Institute (Radovanović, 1996). The development of such a powerful industry had an impact on the spatial development of Kragujevac. New settlements were built for a population of about 30,000 workers in the industrial zone. Because of the fast city growth, in 1931 the first General Plan has been adopted (Radovanović, 1996; Trifunović, 2003). This Plan encompassed the territory of 690 ha, which represents a substantial increase compared to the area within the boundaries of the Regulation Plan from 1891 (270 ha).

After the Second World War, Kragujevac was firstly a centre of the region that included substantial part of Serbia, then of the County consisting of 12 municipalities, and in 1965 it became only a centre of the municipality (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2010). In 1962, shortly after Belgrade, Nis and Novi Sad, Kragujevac founded the Agency for Town Planning, an independent institution, in order to be able to keep up with the rapid pace of development that was intensified by the industrial development, especially the car manufacturing industry as 'Fiat' opened its factory in Kragujevac in 1953 (Trifunović, 2003). At the beginning of the 1960s, Kragujevac had three times more inhabitants than in the years after the Second World War.



Picture 27: City's Green Market

In the 2002, the Assembly of Kragujevac City Council decided to transform the Agency for Town Planning, previously in charge for spatial planning in the Municipality, and to found new public enterprise, the “Directorate for Spatial Development and Construction, Kragujevac” (Odluka o osnivanju javnog preduzeća Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju, Kragujevac, 2002). Spatial Planning Department of the Directorate is in charge for preparation of planning documents when they are entrusted to do so by the Assembly of Kragujevac City Council. In their work on the planning documents they collaborate with all the institutions required by the law, including the Regional Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. Once the Plan has been approved by the Planning Commission whose members are selected by the Assembly of Kragujevac City Council, the City Council formally adopts the Plan and takes the responsibility for its implementation.

Kragujevac conservation area

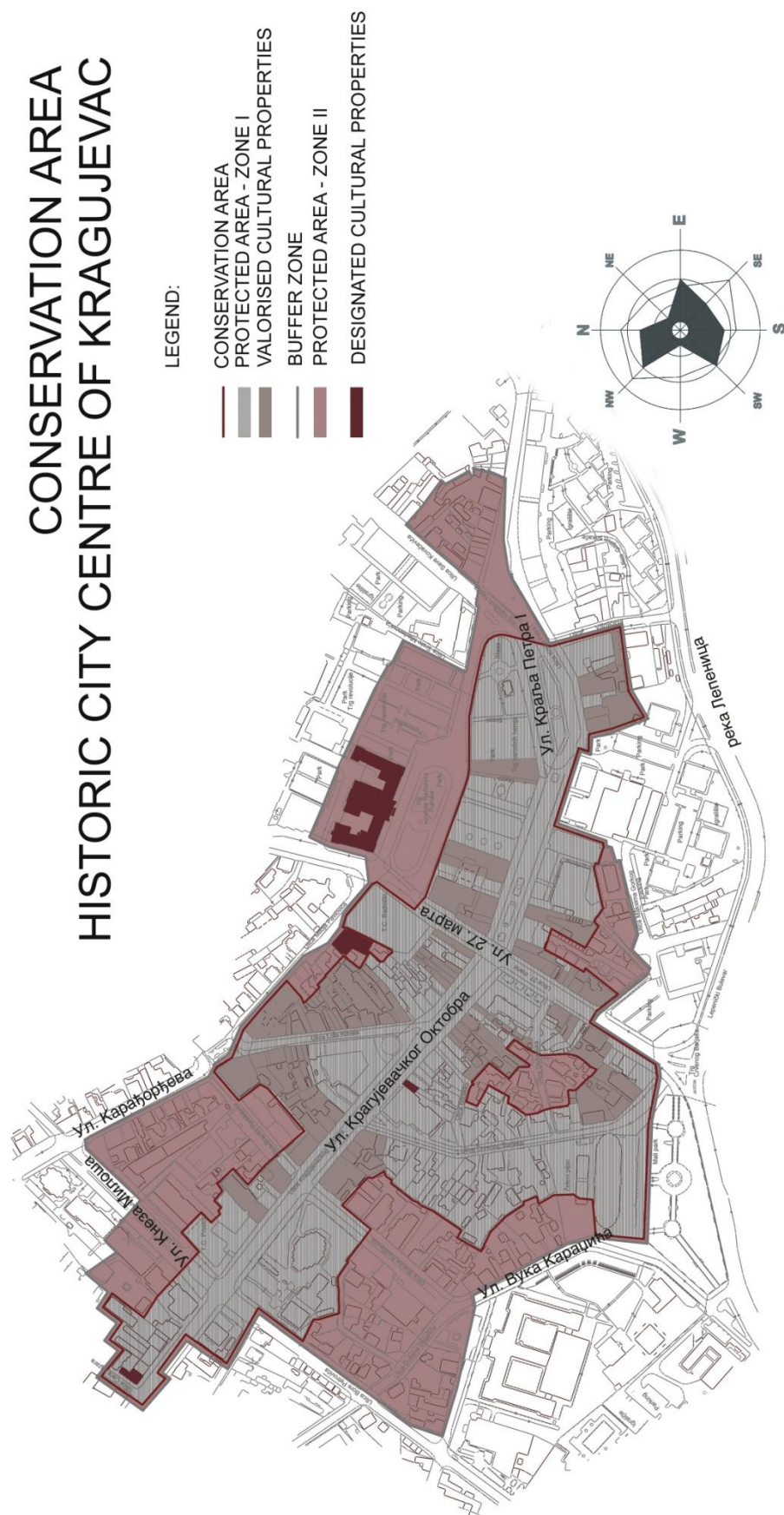
The historic city centre of Kragujevac has been designated in 1970 as a cultural monument (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Kragujevca, 1970). In 1979, it has been categorised as a cultural monument of the great importance (Vlada SRS, 1979). According to the Decision, the historic city centre of Kragujevac represent well preserved historic area that has been continuously developed since the mid 19th century when the planned development of the city started. As the most important cultural properties the Decision names the Military Technical Institute, Duke's Arsenal

and the Residence of Duke Mihailo. Apart from those three, another eight cultural properties of the great importance have been designated.



Picture 28: Crvena Zastava Factory, the main gate

The historic city centre of Kragujevac does not have a regular layout, as it was built one house after another without a clear regulation plan (Jevtović, Čolić, & Zerche, 2013). There is a main street formed along the nowadays Kragujevac Oktobar Street that then continues as the King Peter I Street to the main square called 'Krst' (Cross in English). The original urban fabric shows tight structure comprising from two storeys buildings with the shops at the ground floors and the private flats upstairs. Urban blocks are of the irregular shape and are small and medium sized. Between the two World Wars some of the buildings along the Kragujevac Oktobar Street were replaced by the three storeys high buildings, now mostly being used as the offices. After the Second World War, new development in the city centre was sporadic as social housing at the outskirts of the City was a priority. The King Peter I Street is a pedestrian street and some social and commercial activities still take place outside in the public area.



Picture 29: Map of the historic city centre of Kragujevac (Source: the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection in Kragujevac)

The empirical evidence

The empirical evidence used in this case-study comprise from the policy documents and interviews. Policy documents used in drawing the findings are: the *2009 Spatial Development Plan of the City of Kragujevac* (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2009), the *2010 General Urban Plan Kragujevac 2015* (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2010), the *2008 Architectural Heritage within the Scope of the General Urban Plan 2015 Kragujevac* (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Kragujevac, 2008), and the *2012 General Regulation Plans for “Centre – The Old Town”* (JP Direkcija za urbanizam i izgradnju u Kragujevcu, 2012).

The analysis of policy documents has been supported with the evidence obtained from seven in-depth interviews conducted with the various actors involved in the policy process of the historic city centre governance in Kragujevac (see Appendix 2 for the complete list of respondents). The preliminary talks with all the respondents were held up front in order to prepare them for the interviews. Fourteen key actors were approached for the interviews and only seven of them agreed to take part in the research. Nonetheless, respondents interviewed comprised of two local politicians, one planning officers, lawyer from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection, two respondents from the City Council – the Department for Building Permits, and the Department for Construction and Building Inspection –, and one respondent working in the civil sector. The interviews have been conducted in October 2009, November 2010, and February 2011 and they lasted between 40 minutes and 1 hour.

Policy and ideas

In 2002, Assembly of Kragujevac City Council initiated the work on *Kragujevac Spatial Development Plan* that was consequently adopted in 2009. The decision to prepare *Kragujevac General Urban Plan* was made in 2005 and the Plan was adopted in 2010. Yet this Plan did not specifically discuss the historic city centre or cultural heritage in general. In 2012 the Assembly of Kragujevac City Council adopted the *2012 General Regulation Plan for “Centre – The Old Town”*. Considering that all these plans were predominantly concerned with the formulation of the policy problems and included no action plans or implementation plans, there will be only brief mention of the policy solutions. However, cultural heritage in general has not been a priority in

any of the planning documents presented here and it was mentioned only occasionally.

The policy issues

The 2006 Spatial Development Plan of the City of Kragujevac (KSDP) is the main planning document that sets up the direction of development of the City. According to the KSDP, among the aims of the future spatial development of the city of Kragujevac were the maximisation of its potentials related to its regional and national importance, inclusion within the trans-European Corridor 10, balanced development of all its urban territories and the development and modernisation of the historic city centre in order to reflect the City's regional and national importance.

The KSDP emphasised that the cultural heritage of the City of Kragujevac was one of its important potentials in terms of the development of tourism. It was also the only policy document that has offered some solutions to problems identified. This plan saw the development of the cultural tourism as an approach to the development of the historic city centre. The proposed methods included better presentation of the cultural properties and the development of the system of cultural trails as a part of tourism offer.

The 2012 General Regulation Plan for 'Centre – Old Town' (KGUP) was the most comprehensive planning document that offered important insights about the role heritage played in the development of the City of Kragujevac. According to the KGUP, the role of cultural heritage was to help increase attractiveness of the historic city centre, promote the city and the region, increase economic profitability of the city centre, ensure sustainable development of the City, and help improve the quality of life in the city. There was no mention of the problems cultural heritage was exposed to, nor any further elaboration followed.

Theoretical concepts

The only theoretical concept mentioned was the sustainable development. For the senior planning officer (#25) revitalisation of the historic city centres goes hand in hand with the sustainable development. In the respondent's opinion, sustainable development is "planning that respect both urban setting and cultural properties" and it is conducted by both planners and conservation professionals. The Study of the

cultural heritage in Kragujevac defined sustainable development in terms of ensuring the urban continuity as built heritage represents non-renewable resource and incentive for urban continuity of the city.

The most important aim of current and future practice is to maintain the atmosphere and character of the urban area, with its characteristic elements of architecture and urban patterns, in order to establish continuity with those aspects of the city that continue to grow and develop. (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Kragujevac, 2008, p. 16)

Organisational learning

Organisational learning is a form of social learning and policy learning (Fischer & Mandell, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Organisational learning here refers to the process of generating, accumulating and applying knowledge acquired outside and within the organisation in order to improve organisational performance or competitiveness and consists of learning and policy learning (Fischer & Mandell, 2012; Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Cunliffe, 2008). Organisational learning is important as it allows organisation to adapt and learn from experience.

The analysis identified very few evidences of organisational learning. The senior planning officer (#25) felt that the main obstacle in providing a comprehensive approach toward the development of the historic city centre of Kragujevac was that conservation professionals focus only on single monuments, and no special attention has been given to the development of the whole area: “the problem is that the Institute deal only with the micro locations.”

The lawyer from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) reported that her Institute decided to take care about the monuments, memorials and commemorative plaques in the City as no institution is formally responsible for their maintenance. The Institute then analysed the situation and prepared the study, and in 2007, the City Council decided to allocate necessary financial means.

President of the non-governmental (#31) reported on that civil sector organisations in Kragujevac organised to devise a strategy of their development in order to coordinate and strengthen the activities across the sector. The respondent further asserted that “the Strategy was the first one adopted in Serbia; Belgrade hasn’t got one yet, and there was not even one at the national level.”

Ideas

The Fiat and a metaphor of the revival

During the Second World War, the City of Kragujevac lost significant proportion of its population and was left severely damaged. Rebuilding of the city would maybe not be so successful if it wasn't for the strategic partnership with the Italian car manufacturing company Fiat. In 1953, the strategic partnership with Kragujevac's 'Zastava' was initiated and in the years to come created over 10.000 new job openings and attracted other industries to move to the city. Over the time, Kragujevac became very proud of its success and the understanding that they can overcome any crisis and walk away even stronger became a persistent discourse.

There are few cities that have managed to revive their shattered economy and encourage foreigners to invest. Those who have succeeded now are called leaders in attracting investors. Thanks to the capable people and a willingness to accept the challenge, Kragujevac became a metaphor for a successful economy and economic revival. #29

The member of the City Council in charge of the Investments and City Resources Development (#29) reported that "since 2004 we [the City Council] adopted a number of documents aimed to encourage investment in manufacturing."

The member of the City Council without portfolio (#30) emphasised the importance of Fiat Company for the city. Their presence has triggered the political debates were on getting the image of Kragujevac as a car production city.

We had to rebuild the factory; it was something that was a dream for all of us, that no one believed would happen. #30

Respondent reported that the City of Kragujevac directly negotiated with the potential investors, instead of waiting for the government to do that on their behalf which was the case in many other cities.

The role of the civil sector

The civil sector organisation *Millennium* was one of the well-known and most active organisations in the City of Kragujevac. It has been founded in 1999, and their activities include a wide range of projects aiming at the civic activism and participation

and organisation of the cultural events. The project manager in the Millennium (#31) felt that the role of civil society was to help democratisation of the society. For him, one way to do it in Serbia was to strengthen the regions. He thought that centralisation of the power and the decision-making was the major obstacle to democratisation. In the respondent's view, the civil society should act as a link between sectors and tiers of government as due to the fragmentation those often fail to initiate or deliver joint projects.

That is actually the role of the third sector. What the governmental sector cannot do, has no time to do, does not know how, or has no interest in, civil society can.

#31

As the main problem the civil society is facing, respondent emphasised the distrust from public organisations and citizens. He felt that due to the negative campaign against the civil society in Serbia during the 1990s wider public still have reservations.

Political and economic setting

The political and economic context could facilitate or constrain policy coordination (Mandell & Steelman, 2003). In particular, volatility in terms of politics and economy could generate uncertainty and instability (Halpert, 1982).

The decision-making process

The senior planning officer (#25) shared his belief that it was the politicians who should decide on the direction of city development, vision and its sectoral goals.

It is simply something that it is the City Council's decision, and the City has counsellors and committees for architecture and urbanism who decide on how to approach the issue. Those decisions are practically in their hands. #25

Respondent further added that the Town Planning Agency role was only to decide on how to implement the plan and allocate the activities to the sectors and institutions whose responsibility was to devise a plan on how to enforce those activities.

However, the respondent (#25) emphasised that in practice local politicians did not initiate planning documents to be adopted. He felt that the lack of political decision to proceed with preparation of the Detail Regulation Plans for the historic city centre led to the fact that Rules on the Permitted Development were based on appreciation of the micro location only. In his opinion, the whole issue of the conservation of the historic city centre should be looked at both “inductively and deductively”, as he put it; both from the perspective of the micro location and an overall development of the city. He further asserted that:

The devastation occurs only as a consequence of the lack of systemic approach to this topic. It is not good to prolong the decision to proceed with the work on the Detail Regulation Plans, as it will lead to decisions on the Rules of Permitted Development to be based on the looking at the micro location only, which is not the right thing. # 25

Respondent (#25) felt that there was a lack of political commitment to enforce the decisions asserted by the planning documents in force. He further emphasised that in his opinion heritage was not the priority objective of the city development.

The member of the City Council (#29) was of an opinion that there was a lack of collaboration, consensus and communication between the policy actors in Kragujevac. In his opinion, the decisions were rather enforced than effort was spared to build a consensus. In situation like that, the institutional setting was fragmented and collaboration on joint projects difficult.

Political priorities

Interviews with the local politicians (#29 and #30) shed some light on what were the priorities of the city development. Firstly, the absolute priority was the industrial production and manufacturing that would contribute to the creation of the new jobs. Secondly, the politicians saw the City of Kragujevac as a regional centre where the major businesses have their offices in the city centre and the paradigm often used to describe that city was the ‘city of skyscrapers’. Both respondents (#29 and #30) took pride in seeing the City of Kragujevac as a dynamo of the economic development and the creation of new jobs in Central Serbia.

The local politicians (#29 and #30) took a lot of pride in explaining what was done while they were in power.

Since the year 2004, we have adopted a number of policy documents to encourage investment in the manufacturing. We offered fully equipped locations to the potential investors. Depending on the location, we prepared the subsidies of three, five or seven thousand Euros per employed worker. The biggest investment activity was in 2008. Our local Budget in 2008, compared to 2004, was increased by 3.2 times. #29

Building of the business and industrial parks and attracting of the new direct investments were the most important priorities of the development of the City of Kragujevac. Respondent (#29) reported on many industrial parks that were opened in the last 10 years, including the Industrial Park 'Fiat'. Both respondents (#29 and #30) believed that citizens benefited from the direct investments in the last few years in terms that now Kragujevac has the most developed gas supplies in the Central Serbia, all major companies operating in Serbia have their branches in Kragujevac, and it was much easier to find a job in Kragujevac then anywhere else in the Central Serbia.

Allocation of funding and budgets

The Department for Building Inspection had its annual funding allocated from the local budget. The senior building inspector (#27) reported that constant changes of the annual budget allocated to the inspection make it hard to plan ahead.

Every year it is different, and it all depends on how much is available [...] There are cases when we give up works because it requires more resources. Usually we opt for more buildings and we go until we have funds. #27

In such circumstances some of the unauthorised works could go unsanctioned and the Department, as well as the City Council were aware of the problem. However, in the respondents' opinion, there were other activities that the City Council finds more important, so problem with the funding will remain the same.

By the law, conservation activities are financed from the local, regional or national budget. The Lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) was asked to explain how financing of the conservation activities works in practice.

In practice it often happens that we apply at the Ministry of Culture with the cultural properties categorized as of great and exceptional importance. Cities and municipalities allocate the funds for maintenance and conservation of cultural properties that are of the importance to them. #26

The respondent reported that it often happen that the Institute either do not get full amount for the project, or the project is rejected several times before it is funded.

Availability of funding

Senior planning officer (#25) felt that the lack of financial support for the owners of the cultural properties contributed to the devastation of historic city centre. An overall bad economic situation and recession further exacerbated the problem. Respondent reported that the Agency for Town Planning was aware of it but that in a current economic situation the City Council was not able to adequately respond. In the respondent's opinion, similar funding scheme, like those in Belgrade and Subotica, should be adopted:

The City should take part in funding of maintenance costs. If they would opt for 70% of the funds, and residents who live in these buildings with 30%, the interest is mutual, because the city wants those cultural properties that are under protection to be adequately presented. #25

Lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) reported that due to the lack of funding the revision of the conservation area designation was still pending. The revision was needed as currently designated conservation area needs to be expanded to encompass several more blocks.

That hasn't been done because it is too expensive for us. For years now we are applying for the funding with this program to the City of Kragujevac, and we always repeat the program, and we do not get funding for it. #26

The funding that the respondent referred to was for the works on the technical survey, significance assessment, and the Rules on Permitted Development.

Respondent from the civil sector (#31) reported on the difficulties civil sector faces in order to ensure the long-term funding and jobs. In his experience, only few organisations in Serbia managed so far to do so.

In the civil sector, except for a few big organizations in Belgrade, due to the constant lack of funding, we do not have the ability to employ people like companies, but we employ staff to work on the particular projects. Only few organisations have their office space. In Millennium, we don't have it; we invest all in our projects. #31

Respondent felt that such situation could seriously derail the long-term development of the civil sector in Serbia.

Process, management and behavioural factors

Leadership and implementation

The senior planning officer (#25) reported that there were no implementation plans in force. Such situation in practice means that planning documents were not implemented as there were no mechanisms for their monitoring and implementation. Respondent thought that those should be a part of the Detail Regulation Plans but in Kragujevac work on them was much slower than in other Cities as there were no overall consensus over the direction how to develop the city.

An inadequate treatment is a result of not having the action plans in force. Simply, until funding does not become available, cultural heritage protection will remain partial, or sporadic which is not the point. #25

Respondent (#25) emphasised that the local government was responsible for implementation of the planning documents, but as they did not exist, nothing has been done so far.

The lawyer from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) felt that the local government displayed a lack of leadership and did not have a sense of responsibility to help its citizens who own a cultural property as there was no scheme, tax incentive, or any other help that would ease the financial burden of conservation and maintenance costs. Respondent further reported about the case of facades revitalisation scheme in Subotica.

I see lately that local policy actors think that similar scheme should happen in Kragujevac as well, and that we should decide to proceed with such a project. So I believe that this will happen soon. #26

Communication and collaboration

It was a general impression of the researcher that communication and collaboration in the City of Kragujevac have been limited to only those occasions when it was legally binding and through formal channels of communication. Respondents interviewed kept repeating that 'according to the law' they have to send a memo, or ask for an official consent on the decisions or activities their organisation was undertaking.

There is a legal obligation where we collect the consents from the public enterprises, in order to produce a plan. In the same time, according to a protocol that requires the consent to be obtained from the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection we got it in a form that is allowed us to make an adequate relationship between heritage protection and planning. #25

During the interviews it emerged that the collaboration between the conservation and planning professionals have been established for the first time during work on the recently adopted planning documents. That collaboration resulted in the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection preparing the Study concerning the cultural heritage in the City of Kragujevac which has been further incorporated into planning documents.

The senior planning officer (#28) reported that as a direct result of the lack of communication and collaboration in the City of Kragujevac, the fund for the revitalisation of the facades has never been established. Respondent who works for the Department for the Building Permits felt that the City Council was aware of the problem and instructed its Departments to improve their collaborative activities. So far, in the respondent's opinion, the Department for the Building Permits only managed to improve the frequency of their communication with the Planning Commission, but that was due to the increased activities on the adoption of the planning documents.

Respondents #25, #26 and #28 felt that collaboration with the general public should be established during the implementation. In general, the respondents felt that the indirect engagement of the public through the public surveys and forums was sufficient. Their engagement during the decision-making process should be kept on keeping them informed about the regular activities. The senior planning officer (#25)

reported that previously, while he was appointed as Director of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection, he initiated a public poll where residents could vote for one of two proposed models for revitalisation of the block 'Prodor' in the conservation area.

I think that was one of the actions that had shown the respect to people who live in that area. Because of this action, citizens could choose how the area would be revitalised. #25

The senior building inspector (#27) reported that communication and collaboration between the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection and the Department for Building Inspection did not exist. The Department receives the decisions for demolition from the Institute through their official channels of communication, but enforce them only if they could afford to do that. In other words, the priorities of the Institute have no influence over the decisions of the building inspectors.

Policy coordination issues

In terms of policy coordination, organisational milieu of the City of Kragujevac displayed considerable amount of fragmentation, hierarchy and lack of horizontal coordination. Strong vertical ties established through the hierarchy, hindered effective policy coordination. The only setting in which it could happened was through joint work on the planning documents. Even then, decisions about the main planning issues have been made at the higher executive levels who then entrusted them to the specific departments.

After interviews with the respondents, it became clear to the researcher that policy coordination happens only at the executive levels. As a result, lower tiers did not have to have a regular communication established, but only to perform their role. Strong hierarchy and respect for another's role and domain produced multiple rules and procedures, as well as very strictly established administrative domains of the local organisations.

Networks and local strategic planning partnerships

This research did not find any evidence of the local strategic partnerships in place apart from those legally binding. There was a lot of talking about how having them

would help resolve some problems in the City, but due to the administrative boundaries and defensiveness, as well as inertia, none has yet been established.

The senior planning officer (#25) felt that the collaboration with the residents would be acceptable if it was about the implementation, but it would not be acceptable if it was about the decision-making.

The profession simply has to have a constant, permanent collaboration with the residents, either through the surveys, or the round tables in the local community. It would mean respecting the residents, but also respecting the rights and obligations on their part to take care of the buildings in which they live. #25

The respondent (#25) further asserts that any local strategic partnerships that might be formed in the City of Kragujevac should be initiated by the local government and managed through its public enterprises or agencies. The aim of such joint endeavour would be to combine the needs of the residents and the public interest.

The lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) emphasised the necessity of establishing the local strategic partnerships in the City of Kragujevac. In her opinion, such partnerships would be a step forward in revitalisation of the historic city centre.

It is already happening in some cities. I know of Subotica, where the local government has made a decision to revitalise facades in the old town and the City provides 70% of the total costs, while the owners 30%. #26

Respondent (#26) reported that so far nothing of that kind has been initiated by the City Council due to their inertia, although it was a general opinion that such a partnership would be in the public interest and would help revitalise the historic city centre.

Attitudes towards collaborative work

Respondents were generally very reluctant and showed a high degree of restraint to talk about the personal factors and how they affect collaboration.

The senior planning officer (#25) reported that the collaboration between conservation and planning professionals occurred for the first time in 2005 as a need to collaborate

during the work on planning documents. Previously, there were no collaboration, nor need for it, and conservation had primacy over planning decisions. Although the respondent emphasised the lack of communication between those two sectors, he still claimed that there was no problem that could not be resolved.

The relationship between planners and conservation professionals should be further improved, although, in the City of Kragujevac that relationship is at the level of partnership, and there is absolutely no problem that could not be resolved. #25

Still, the respondent (#25) expressed his concern that planners see conservation officers as conservative, traditional people and that hinders the communication and collaboration with them. He further added that if the development of historic city centre of Kragujevac would be in the hands of the conservation professionals, heritage conservation would have dominance over planning. The only way planning and conservation professionals managed to reach a compromise was through planning documents and even then that compromise has been agreed at the higher executive levels, namely the City Council.

Bureaucracy, institutional setting and legislation

Sectoral capacity

Respondents generally avoided talking about the organisational setting in the City of Kragujevac, justifying it by the fact that they were only working within the domain of their own organisation. The overall impression of the researcher was that there was a noticeable hierarchy between actors in the policy process which created an ineffective collaborative environment. Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, respondents felt directly subordinated to the higher tiers of a command.

Due to the fragmentation within the sector and strict boundaries between the administrative domains, there was a lack of responsibility for the final outcome of the projects. For instance, as previously mentioned, the Department for Building Inspection was not held accountable for not enforcing the decisions for demolition of an unauthorised construction works on the designated cultural properties.

Respondents #25, #26 and #28 all felt that there was a practice of 'no interference' with the administrative domain of other organisations. The senior building inspector (#27) reported that she only works within the remits of her own department's duties. She further emphasised that she had very little interest in what her colleagues in other departments were doing as it did not concern her. She felt that such behaviour would be interpreted as a violation of someone else jurisdiction.

Contrary to what the respondents from the governmental organisations reported, the project manager of the Millennium (#31) felt that in a such fragmented institutional setting civil organisations have a lot of space to implement initiatives that no governmental organisation was in charge for.

At some point, I realized that institutionally we [civil sector] could act and implement some of our ideas and initiatives. That is actually the definition of the third sector. What the governmental sector cannot do, or does not have time to, or does not know how, or it has no interest, civil society can. #31

Policy congruence

The respondents were asked to comment on how Planning and Construction Act and Cultural Heritage Act relate in practice. Senior planning officer (#25) and lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) were of the opinion that Planning and Construction Act and Cultural Heritage Act provide sufficient and congruent legal basis for conservation area's development. Senior planning officer felt that planning documents provide operative mechanisms for the integration of built heritage conservation into town planning through planning documents, the Spatial Development Plan for the Municipality, the General Urban Plan for the City and the Detail Regulation Plans.

Planning and Construction Act is definitely integrating conservation of the immovable cultural heritage, which is done in practice through grading of the immovable cultural properties and issuing of the Rules on Permitted Development to ensure conservation or reconstruction of the cultural properties. Further integration happens through the development of planning documents. #25

Lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) emphasised the importance Article 107 of the Cultural Heritage Act has in ensuring effective integration of built heritage conservation into town planning. This Article integrates

built heritage conservation and town planning through the Rules on Permitted Development that are part of the planning documents. Respondent emphasised that protection of cultural properties through planning documents was especially important for buildings that are not listed but have some values and should be protected as “in this way they are part of urban and regional plans and enjoy protection.” The respondent emphasised that for the Institutes around Serbia often that is the only way to save some buildings that otherwise couldn’t be designated and protected by the Cultural Heritage Act.

Policy lacunae

Senior town planner (#25) reported how difficult it is, in the context of new developments, to turn to the market-driven development. Respondent thought that administrative planning model that Serbia has was an obstacle to the new investments.

Implementation of any activities that are in conflict with what is planned lead to the problem where there is only one approach toward the subject and that is the preservation approach. #25

The lawyer at the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection (#26) felt that if the City wants to protect a cultural property that would be much easier done if the City would have legal mechanisms to designate cultural properties.

We have previously indicated there might be a gap in legislation. Several times we even submitted a draft decision to the City which we called ‘The Decision on public monuments’, because in practice many monuments that are not protected by the law, but are located at public areas and are dedicated to important events or persons are unprotected. #26

Respondent emphasised that if some damage occur it was important for the Institute to have legal right to undertake conservation works on those public monuments.

Discussion

Kragujevac case study represents an extreme case in terms of the wide-ranging lack of policy coordination capacity in comparison to the other two case studies. While the previous two case studies have shown various degrees of willingness and capacity to commit to coordinative endeavour, Kragujevac has shown very low commitment that would lead to effective governance of its historic city centre. There are several reasons for that and those will be discussed here.

One of the reasons observed refers to dominant discourse on the development of the City of Kragujevac which is in conflict with conservation of the historic city centre. Namely, an overall development of the City of Kragujevac is directed towards further economic development – industrial production and manufacturing that would contribute to the creation of the new jobs as several respondents reported – and repositioning of the City of Kragujevac as a leader in the Central Serbia. These ideas did not emerge into public policy in a void as they are constrained by pre-existing narratives, discourses and modes of rationality that have already achieved discursive structuration (Atkinson, 2000; Hajer, 2003). The discursive construction of development of the City of Kragujevac is situated within a raft of policy discourses that could be pinned down to three groups, namely *Kragujevac as a leader in Central Serbia*, *'the City of skyscrapers'* and *Fiat and the metaphor of revival*. Each one of them became institutionalised, began to dominate institutional practices and influence policy formulation and direction, and as a consequence they achieved discursive structuration (Hajer, 1993; Schmidt V. , 2010). Their interplay helped the development of planning policy because as policy actors impose their views on each other, they generate discursive practices that are historically contingent.

Political deliberation is a context-specific and it reflects issues of local importance, such as here placing the City of Kragujevac at the leadership position in the Central Serbia. In history, Kragujevac was the first capital of modern Serbia (1818–1841) and place where the first Constitution in the Balkans was proclaimed in 1835. That period was also the most important in the development of the City as it marked a progression from simply being a town to becoming the administrative, political, cultural, military, and economic centre of Serbia (Radovanović, 1996; Trifunović, 2003). The second dominant discourse, *'the City of skyscrapers'* includes transformation of the city centre into a business centre where numerous companies would maintain their headquarters. Although this discourse is relatively recent in the public realm of Kragujevac, it did not emerge in a void and it is closely related with the third dominant

discourse, Fiat and the metaphor of revival. Both discourses highlight that economic and industrial growth are of utmost importance for the development of the City. Namely, after the Second World War rebuilding of the City would maybe not be so successful if it wasn't for the strategic partnership with the Italian car manufacturing company Fiat. In the years to come over 10.000 new jobs were created. Also, other industries decided to move to the City. Over time, Kragujevac became very proud of its success and as a result shaped its identity around the idea of being a dynamo of the economic development and the creation of new jobs in Central Serbia. As a consequence, one of the 2006 KSDP's aims provides a direct link between the three dominant discourses: the maximisation of the City's potentials related to its regional and national importance, inclusion within the trans-European Corridor 10, balanced development of all its urban territories and the development and modernisation of the historic city centre in order to reflect the City's regional and national importance. These findings showed that not only that discourses of the development of the City of Kragujevac matter, but also that they alter the perceptions of policy actors and influence the way spatial development policies are formulated. These findings also suggested that it was not that institutions deeply affected policy formulation; instead, discourses that achieve structuration and became institutionalized had a power to influence policy formulation.

The analysis found several distinct causes for *departmentalism* – in this case separation to sectors –, namely domain defensiveness, professional defensiveness, and lack of communication and collaboration. Departmentalism represents concentration of power and resources within clearly defined departments, or sectors, in order to reinforce self-interests of its members (Kavanagh & Richards, 2001). *Domain defensiveness* here – unlike at the national level and Pančevo case study – is not a result of the tendency towards protection of the organisational authority (Alexander, 1995), but it is a consequence of respect for the interorganisational boundaries. In such circumstances, organisations are not even struggle for power and authority but protect the status quo. It could be concluded that respect for the interorganisational boundaries acts as a lock-in mechanisms that not only supports but reinforces practice of no communication and no interorganisational collaboration unless it is legally binding. *Professional defensiveness* here is both a consequence and cause of domain defensiveness (Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009). As reported by the respondents, there was no history of previous relations and collaboration between the conservation and planning sectors before 2005 which were only established due to the need to work on planning documents. In the same time, the most likely reasons for *the lack of communication and collaboration* are no

previous history of relations that resulted in lack of channels of communication, and no boundary permeability that conditioned strong departmental culture and lack of horizontal steering. As a consequence, departments, or sectors in this case, became separated and fragmented (Alexander, 1995; Halpert, 1982). It is hard to determine what in this cause-effect relationship acts as a cause and what as an effect as each of the causes of departmentalism found here are mutually reinforcing and constituting.

The analysis also found that strong vertical ties and hierarchy not only hamper horizontal collaboration but possibly cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. The analysis revealed that consensus over collaboration with other sectors is brokered and maintained at the executive levels, that is to say, at the meta-coordination level (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). As a result, lower tiers don't have to establish a regular communication, but only to perform their role. Strong hierarchy and respect for another's role and domain created very strictly established administrative domains of the local organisations resulting in an ineffective collaborative environment. Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, respondents felt directly subordinated to the higher tiers of a command. Moreover, the extreme domain and professional defensiveness, as well as lack of communication and collaboration resulted in conservation taking primacy over planning. Namely, decisions concerning designated cultural properties are made by conservation professionals without the consultations with planning professionals. Similarly, planning documents do not analyse the state of cultural heritage nor devise a strategy for its conservation as designated cultural properties are considered to be out of their jurisdiction. Therefore, it could be concluded that although communication between conservation and planning professionals is needed to accomplish legal requirements related to the formulation of planning documents, both sectors find the way around it to maintain the status quo. Accordingly, the analysis did not find any evidence of the local strategic partnerships in place apart from those legally binding, while several respondents reported that neither local strategic partnerships are present nor is their establishment seen as desirable.

Another important insight regards the work of civil sector. The analysis found that civil actors see their opportunity to work in the fields that are in the public interest but not in a domain of the governmental organisations. In such way civil sector would not risk triggering domain defensiveness. Another opportunity is to work as a liaison between sectors and organisations that due to strong departmental culture and fragmentation do not collaborate or even communicate and therefore are unable to deliver cross-sectoral tasks. In this respect, civil actors could help alleviate domain and professional

defensiveness inherent to governmental sector. It was not possible to assess how successful they could be this early on in their intents; however, it could be concluded that the civil sector shows potential to act as the 'change agent'.

Conclusions

This Chapter provided an analysis of the organisational rationality underpinning governance of the historic city centre of Kragujevac and demonstrated how actors navigate institutional setting in order to deliver the policy. Firstly, it provided a background on nature of the planning context and character of the conservation area. Then, it offered an analysis of the empirical evidence consisting of the policy documents and interviews conducted with the various professionals. In so doing, it made it possible to appreciate the full complexity of the policy process.

In summary, governance of the historic city centre of Kragujevac is hampered by the dominant discourses of the city development as those are not supportive of conservation. As a consequence, activities in relation to conservation of the historic city centre are kept to minimal level. In the same time, policy coordination in the City of Kragujevac has been at the very rudimentary level. A number of reasons emerged from the analysis. Firstly, strong departmentalism – in this case separation to sectors – resulted in domain defensiveness, professional defensiveness, and lack of communication and collaboration. Secondly, strong vertical ties and hierarchy not only hamper horizontal collaboration but possibly cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. Finally, neither strategic partnerships are present nor is their establishment seen as desirable.

The following Chapter– *The complexity of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia* – will proceed by presenting the key findings of the research. Building on the parent theory and the analysis of three selected case studies, this Chapter will provide *a comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, identify barriers to and opportunities for the policy coordination* and answer the four key research questions.

PART 4: Discussion and conclusions

CHAPTER 8: The complexity of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia

Introduction

Building on the parent theory and the analysis of three selected case studies, this Chapter presents the key findings of the research. In the first instance it discusses the findings in relation to the objectives of this research which were to provide a *comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia and to identify the barriers and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. Also, it provides the answers to the following research questions:

- *How contextual factors such as practices and local traditions influence governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, and how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*
- *Why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another, and what type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?*

This Chapter considers these questions in light of the theoretical development and empirical engagement made in the research. The Chapter consists of five parts. The first section critically reflects upon the research findings in reference to the administrative and governance cultures in Serbia. The second section draws on the findings from the three case studies to explore practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. The third section discusses tensions between the conservation and planning. The fourth section provides a comprehensive analysis of barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination. The fifth and final section provides the answers to the research questions. Throughout, the Chapter considers the complexity of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia.

Administrative and governance context

A number of issues relating to political and administrative culture, and modes of governance and societal trends have shaped the approach to governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. The increasing internationalization of spatial planning after the Second World War, especially from 1960s and 1970s on, contributed to proliferation of planning ideas and practices in many countries. Nedović-Budović and Cavić (2006) asserted that although those ideas and practices have been 'exported' from a few, and imported by many countries, the social embedding and their contextual nature resulted in many region- and culture-specific variations.

As noted in Chapter 3, the four trends characterising transformation of the administrative and governance context in Serbia can be associated with the processes of self-management, devolution of power, localism and introduction of comprehensive planning, all of which have promoted significant economic, political and social changes since the 1950s. The next paragraphs explain the reasoning behind this association in more detail.

After the Second World War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia assumed absolute power, breaking up with the parliamentary tradition under the Karađorđević Monarchy. That strongly influenced the development of Yugoslavia (1945-1991) introducing a rapid development of the social and economic institutions, as well as parallel processes of decentralisation and devolution (Bratlett, 1975; Milanovic, 1987). The socialist tradition in Yugoslavia has implied a strong emphasis on social ownership of land and buildings which allowed for greater control over societal and urban development. However, that control was not exercised from the national level, as it was the case with the Eastern Block countries.

The greatest impact on capacity building of the local governance arena had the self-management system. The self-management system was based on the principle that each decision ought to be made at that particular level at which interests, development goals, as well as implementation can best and most fully be understood (Stojanović, 1981). This in fact implied a system of multilevel governance that was subsequently developed with the decentralisation and devolution of power (Denitch, 1973). The 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia formalised decentralisation of political power, self-management and social ownership. Also, it ensured the withdrawal of direct government interference in the economy (Milanovic, 1987). The Constitution also permitted private ownership of small and medium enterprises which resulted in

one third of the Yugoslav GDP being generated by the private sector in the late 1980s (Hadžić, 2002). With the 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia spatial planning had moved away from centralised planning and never returned to it (Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004). That opened the doors for the integration of the physical and socio-economic planning within the system of the self-management and social ownership.

The 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia brought significant changes in power distribution within the Yugoslavia. The main aim of this change was to transfer more powers to the local communities, as well as to encourage people to take an active role in their communities by guaranteed the right of every worker to “control the operations of the Basic Organization of Associated Labour (BOAL), its activities and resources, to regulate relations in the work, decide on the income derived from the various forms of associated labour and to acquire personal income” (Constitution of Yugoslavia, 1974, Article 14). Therefore, all enterprises in Yugoslavia got the status of the BOAL based on workers’ self-management, including the City Councils, local planning authorities and Institutes for Cultural Heritage Protection, which meant that the decisions about the management of the enterprises had to be made by workers themselves (Milanovic, 1987). In particular, at the local level, these changes have prompted the creation of management councils composed of the representatives from all BOALs operating locally. That created very complex system of citizen participation in the decision making processes. As a result, these reforms have led to a gradual increase in the involvement of all social groups in local policymaking, but also resulted in a loss of professional control and accountability, excessive bureaucracy and created volatility in terms of long-term planning as the decisions could be overturned in any time by the same BOALs who made them. Paradoxically, instead of helping increase democratic and political capacities of local communities, it actually helped decrease trust in an overall governance system (Nedović-Budović & Cavrić, 2006; Simmie, 1989).

The landmark moment for the Yugoslav spatial planning legislation was for certain the adoption of the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering in 1971 that introduced comprehensive spatial planning model. With the subsequent laws in the Republic of Serbia – the Planning and Spatial Management Act (1974) and the Cultural Heritage Act (1977) – it began the new phase in spatial planning which identified built heritage conservation as one of the sectors that had to be included in the planning strategies (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). Following debates among scholars and professionals over time, subsequent legal provisions were adopted to further assist practice of the comprehensive spatial planning in Serbia. Still, as conservation and

planning were institutionalised separately significant structural differences caused difficulties in their joint work on the planning documents. This was also the beginning of ‘the golden era’ of spatial planning in Yugoslavia (Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011) that lasted until the late 1980s. This period saw intensive work on preparation of planning documents at all levels, rapid urbanisation, and developments in housing (Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011; Pogačnik, 1987). However, in practice the move to integrated spatial planning has lacked efficacy, because decision making process took a long time and there were no guaranties that decisions were going to be implemented (Simmie, 1989). In addition, the system of delegation that was in place did not guarantee that real public interests were represented.

Table 16: An overview of the key findings

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS		INTERPRETIVE FACTORS
Environmental	Structural	
PROFESSIONALS		
Political interference	Departmentalism	Domain defensiveness
Political instability	Structural fragmentation	Professional defensiveness
Culture of short-term planning	Structural incongruence	
	Fuzzy lines of responsibilities	
	Lack of accountability	
SUBOTICA		
Political interference	Sectoral fragmentation	Dominant historical discourses supportive of heritage conservation
Political instability	Fuzzy lines of responsibilities	Knowledge domains – conservation and planning
Political and economic interests prevail	Lack of accountability	Network capacity
PANCEVO		
Political interference	Departmentalism	Domain and professional defensiveness
Political instability	Fuzzy lines of responsibilities	Power asymmetry
Culture of short-term planning	Lack of accountability	Lack of network capacity
Lack of leadership		
Political preferences		
KRAGUJEVAC		
	Sectoral fragmentation	Dominant historical discourses hinder conservation of the historic city centre
	Vertical fragmentation within the sectors and organisations	Domain and professional defensiveness
	Departmentalism	Lack of communication and collaboration
	Fuzzy lines of responsibilities	
	Lack of accountability	

Centralisation of power, as well as, political and economic instability in the 1990s had a negative impact on planning and heritage conservation, but in the 2000s it all went through significant changes. In particular, much has been made to once more devolve power to the local level and to reintroduce Municipal and City planning as the major units of planning through the decentralisation of spatial planning, therefore putting more importance on the local economic development and the capital flows. Driven by the evolving forms of neoliberal spatial governance, spatial planning in Serbia favoured competitiveness, the new forms of partnerships and networks, and promotion of the local level as the level where the interventions take place. In spite of all that, inherited problems persisted (Stojkov, 2007; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004).

Despite many achievements, some policy shifts after 2000 have not brought all the expected results. The findings presented here analyse the impact environmental and structural factors have on governance of the historic city centres in Serbia and its legislative and institutional context. Overview of the key findings from the Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 are presented in the Table 16.

Environmental characteristics refer to the political and cultural contexts and the impact they have on governance. This research found that *political interference* and *political instability* were observed at the national level and in Subotica and Pančevo. As mentioned in the literature review, political volatility generates uncertainty and instability (Halpert, 1982). Unpredictability makes organisations and policy actors more aware of themselves and of the need for survival which could inhibit effective governance. This research has identified that political interference and political instability often couple with other problems such as the lack of political commitment, culture of short-term planning, prevalence of political and economic interests and lack of leadership. For instance, political instability had an impact on the decision-making process in terms that each new local government was starting from the beginning. As a consequence, there was no continuity or long-term planning. Also, the lack of political commitment and leadership in Pančevo and Subotica resulted in no long-term vision for the historic city centres in terms of conservation politics. A possible explanation would be the causality that exists between the political and cultural contexts inherited from the time of the self-management, and what is now deemed publicly and politically acceptable. This assertion corroborates with the ideas of Mandell and Steelman (2003) who suggested that over time rules and guidelines develop within institutional arrangements in order to support certain modes of behaviour. Similarly, the theory of social embeddedness could offer more

comprehensive explanation. According to the theory of social embeddedness, contingency in term of knowledge, practices and behaviour is a result of a person or organisation being part of a complex web of social relations and social networks sown over time (Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011; Schmidt A. , 2007). In case of Serbia, a parallel could be drawn between the socialist system in the past and the behaviour of the policy actors in the present. Namely, socialism has been characterised by the deficit in democratic and political steering. As mentioned in the literature review, although the self-management system introduced during socialism was based on the principle that each decision ought to be made at that particular level at which interests, development goals and implementation can best and most fully be understood, still over time it resulted in creation of excessive bureaucracy that at the local level acted under the direct influence of the central government and became detached from its citizens. It is due to this detachment that politicians often act in accordance to their own preferences and still lack political accountability that is here at its early stages of creation.

Another important finding was that local governance has been characterised by *strong departmentalism* and *fragmentation*. Departmentalism represents is a structural problem pertinent to concentration of power and resources within clearly defined departments in order to reinforce self-interests of its members (Kavanagh & Richards, 2001). As most likely causes this research identified domain and professional defensiveness, structural incongruence and lack of communication and collaboration. About domain and professional defensiveness there will be more discussion in the next section as those are interpretive factors related the history of relationships between organisations. The research has identified that structural incongruence exists between conservation and planning sectors. That is most likely related to the way how those two sectors are institutionalised in the welfare structure in terms of the division of responsibilities (professionalization), especially when that institutionalisation happens over a prolonged period of time (Alexander, 1995; Halpert, 1982). On one hand, conservation has been developed as a hierarchical, vertical sector with the clear separation and interdependencies between its levels: the Ministry of Culture, the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia and the network of regional Institutes. On the other hand, responsibility for local spatial planning has been entrusted to the Municipalities who formulate the planning documents and are responsible for their implementation. Therefore, when policy issues are becoming increasingly 'cross-cutting', and do not fit the ministerial boxes into which governments, and policy analysts, tend to place policies, structural incongruence interfere with or block the capacity of the organizations to act effectively together,

unless problems are dealt with. The research has also identified that varied degree of fragmentation exists between governmental and civil organisations. These views surfaced mainly in relation to the work of civil organisations, and were corroborated by the respondents from the governmental sector.

The research has shown that *strong vertical ties and hierarchy* not only hamper horizontal collaboration but cause vertical fragmentation within sectors which is especially pronounced in Pančevo and Kragujevac. The analysis revealed that consensus over collaboration with other sectors is brokered and maintained at the executive levels in the local polities, that is to say, at the meta-coordination level (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). As a result, lower tiers don't have to establish a regular communication, but only to perform their role. Strong hierarchy and respect for another's role and domain created very strictly established administrative domains of the local organisations resulting in an ineffective collaborative environment. Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, respondents often felt directly subordinated to the higher tiers of a command.

Another important insight is that all three local polities have demonstrated *fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities* and *lack of accountability*. This is a cause for concern as accountability allows for establishment of closer supervision and higher professional standards which in return make organisations better prepared for policy coordination (Litwak & Rothan, 1970). One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that none of the planning documents identify which policy actors or institutions would take the responsibility to implement planning objectives. As mention in the literature review, planning documents reflect on how the authority and resources have been distributed as they focus on representation of power, rights and responsibilities, and look at the roles various actors have in planning (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011; Prior, 2003). Instead, responsibility for planning here was entirely institutionalized in the discipline, such as planning and heritage conservation, in the statutory authority, and in its products. All these insights point out to the lack of accountability. Accountability is important issue in ensuring implementation of any plan as it establishes legally binding sets of rules that oblige policy actor or an institution to act on behalf of someone or for a public interest, or in representative democracies, where elected representatives are held accountable for implementation, of agenda previously agreed on (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). Here that is not the case as implementation has been institutionalised in 'planning' as a discipline, without reference to possible mechanisms of control. The most likely cause for lack of accountability is the legacy of

self-management system that prevented professional control and accountability to be developed.

The micro-social perspective of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia

This research argues that conservation and governance of the historic city centres is a contextualised and subjective process that involves meaning-making and that researching such a process should take into account what is meaningful to policy actors. Meanings are context and situation specific and dependent on both expert and tacit knowledge held by relevant policy actors (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). Tacit knowledge refers to values and meanings that are tacitly and not explicitly known and are rooted in local practices and traditions. As a result, this section of the chapter will examine the complexity of governance of the historic city centres from a micro-social perspective by looking at actors, networks and institutions.

As discussed in the literature review, the subject of microsociology is the nature of everyday social interactions and agency, and the role of individual and their interactions in the creation of societal relations (Smelser, 1995; Rohall, Milkie, & Lucas, 2011). Therefore, micro-social perspective is associated with interpretive analysis as it examines how individuals interpret situations and interact with other individuals in their setting. In reviewing the literature on factors that affect policy coordination, it was suggested that theory of organisational structuring offers an interpretive account for analysing the meanings actors produce to make sense of their worlds within the organisational setting (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Schutz, 1972). Those interpretive schemes refer to perceptive and subjective understanding, and include micro-social elements such as values, attitudes and perceptions of the policy actors (Bonniwell Haslett, 2012; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Challis, et al., 1988; Halpert, 1982). They guide our experiences of the world around us and how we get to know and understand it.

The findings presented here are structured around the following topics: (1) domain and professional defensiveness; (2) interaction potential for a joint endeavour; and (3) the role of ideas.

Domain and professional defensiveness

The findings of this research indicate that there was interrelatedness between structural fragmentation and departmentalism on one hand, and domain defensiveness, professional defensiveness and status differences on the other. As indicated in the literature review, domain defensiveness and professional defensiveness are mutually reinforcing and interconnected concepts. Domain defensiveness is characterised by a tendency towards protection of the organisational authority, resources and professional domains (Halpert, 1982; Castells, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Whetten & Leung, 1979), while professional defensiveness reinforces professionalization and domain defence (Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009).

The research has found that all three localities display certain degree of domain and professional defensiveness. In Subotica for instance, domain defensiveness was a direct result of protection of the professional domains. Namely, tensions between conservation and planning understood to be pertinent to their role and a monopoly and elitism of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection created conditions for professional defensiveness. However, the analysis has shown that that was not enough to seriously impede governance of the historic city centre due to a positive attitude towards collaborative work and a history of good relations.

In contrast, Pančevo and Kragujevac were characterised by strong domain and professional defensiveness. In Pančevo this was a consequence of a strong division of responsibilities between the institutions due to legal incongruence that supports protection of the organisational authority (professionalization), sectoral fragmentation and boundary non-permeability. Namely, very narrow understanding of one's role and no history of previous relationships act as a mechanism that prevents boundary permeability, interdependencies and internal adjustments necessary for coordinative endeavours to happen. Furthermore, the research has shown that professional defensiveness was a consequence of the lack of shared understandings of policy issues, no culture of collaboration, professional inertia, and lack of willingness to learn. These findings support previous research of Challis et al (1988) and Stead and Meijers (2009) who asserted that when shared understanding of policy issues is absent, it opens the doors for professional defensiveness. Here, shared understandings of policy issues are hard to broker due to the insurmountable institutional boundaries and domain defensiveness. As a possible explanation for this Alexander (1995) and Halpert (1982) suggested that those could be a reflection of the institutionalisation of welfare structure in terms of the division of responsibilities

(professionalization), especially when that institutionalisation happens over a prolonged period of time.

Kragujevac was not much different as it was also characterised by strong domain and professional defensiveness. However, the research has shown that unlike Pančevo, domain defensiveness here was not a result of the tendency towards protection of the organisational authority (professionalization), but it was a consequence of respect for the interorganisational boundaries. Namely, the research has found that there was no history of previous relations and collaboration between the conservation and planning sectors before 2005. That resulted in lack of channels of communication, and no boundary permeability which in return supported strong departmentalism and lack of the horizontal steering. As a consequence, organisations were not even struggling for power and authority but protected the status quo. This leads to the conclusion that respect for the interorganisational boundaries acts as a lock-in mechanisms that not only supported but reinforced practice of no communication and no interorganisational collaboration unless it was legally binding.

Interaction potential for a joint endeavour

As discussed in the literature review, several factors may combine to produce good interaction potential for joint endeavour. Those include good relationships between the organisations (Halpert, 1982; Mandell & Steelman, 2003), history of the relationships (Alexander, 1995), positive evaluation of other organisation and staff involved (Mandell & Steelman, 2003), positive attitude towards joint endeavour (OECD, 1996; Stead & Meijers, 2009), regular interactions and informal contact between organisations (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Halpert, 1982), and common interests, and culture of trust (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988; Halpert, 1982).

This research has identified that there was a considerable difference between the case study of Subotica and other two case studies. The analysis has found that despite certain amount of tensions and conflicts, and occasional lack of trust between different segments of the local polity in Subotica, positive attitude towards collaborative work was present and it was reinforced by the practice of regular communication and collaboration. In such circumstances, local polity had managed to engage in local strategic partnership for the façades renewal and keep it operational since 1960s. Such commitment of its participants and effort to achieve the desired outcome resulted in transformation of public services and demonstrated the capacity

for joint endeavour. As mentioned in the literature review, this is called a task-related coordination and it implies joint delivery of services by organisations (Sørensen, 2014; Torfing, Peters, & Pierre, 2012). Considering that this local strategic partnership consists of policy actors associated across different sectors and organisations with an aim to secure the desired outcomes in the policy field, it could be concluded that they operate as a policy network (Alexander, 1998; Bevir, 2007b).

The other two localities, Pančevo and Kragujevac, have demonstrated very low interaction potential for joint endeavour. The research has demonstrated that this was due to the professional and domain defensiveness that prevented policy actors from collaboration, and resources and domain sharing. The research have also identified that both cities were characterized by very strong vertical ties, hierarchy within the sectors and the lack of horizontal collaboration which made policy actors feel isolated from their institutional milieu. Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, policy actors were directly subordinated to the higher tiers of command. As a result, only meta-coordination structures here were involved in policy coordination, that is to say, the direct political steering was necessary for any joint endeavour. Accordingly, the analysis did not find any evidence of the local strategic partnerships in place.

The role of ideas

In the literature review it was suggested that the way how we talk or write about policy issues matters because it reflects how we frame and understand its meanings (Waterton, 2010; Yanow, 2000). The role of ideas in the policy process is primarily in a fact that those provide the lenses through which policies are being interpreted by the policy actors and allow organisations to adapt and learn from the experience (Béland & Cox, 2011; Mehta, 2011; Peters, 2013). This research has shown that the role of ideas in governance of the historic city centres in Serbia could be threefold. First, historically developed discourses could support or disrupt conservation of the historic city centres. Second, knowledge generated, acquired and accumulated in a policy process could influence changes in policy direction. And final, the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation across the organisational boundaries could support creation of communities of practice and fields of arguments.

This research has found that historically developed discourses matter as those could affect an overall direction of conservation and development of the historic city centres. This research has found two examples that support this claim. First example was from

Subotica where the discursive construction of development of the City was situated within the two groups of policy discourses, namely the re-establishment of the City as a regional and international centre, and strengthening multiculturalism and ethnical identities in Subotica. Each of them is supportive of conservation of the historic city centre. Kragujevac as another example represents the opposite. Namely, an overall development of the City of Kragujevac is situated within a raft of policy discourses that could be pinned down to three groups, namely Kragujevac as a leader in Central Serbia, 'the City of skyscrapers' and Fiat and the metaphor of revival. These historically developed discourses are in conflict with conservation of the historic city centre as they are directed towards further economic development aiming to transform the city centre into a business centre where numerous companies would maintain their headquarters. As the analysis has shown each of these historically developed discourses have gained prominence through political deliberation and as a consequence became institutionalised, began to dominate institutional practices and influence policy formulation and direction. This is an important finding as it enhances our understanding of how pre-existing narratives, discourses and modes of rationality that have already achieved discursive structuration influence policy formulation. This finding supports previous research of Hammami (2012) who has found that understanding rationales underpinning conservation interventions in historic city areas requires exploration of historically developed discursive practices. Namely, Hammami (2012) traced back narratives of particular interventions and historically developed discourses in order to explore how they become socially appropriated. However, by looking at the particular set of discourses identified to have bearing on conservation interventions he overlooked other discourses that might indirectly affected policy formulation and direction. This research extends his assertion by claiming that not only historically developed discourses relevant to conservation influence policy formulation and direction, but other historically developed discourses do too, as noted here, those related to economic development and growth.

The second important finding was that knowledge generated, acquired and accumulated in a policy process could influence changes in policy direction. This is called organisational learning and it allows organisation to adapt and learn from the experience. The analysis identified several cases of organisational learning happening in Subotica. First, the research has identified that the professional approach to heritage was shifting from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument of urban regeneration and development. That shift changed the perception of what heritage was considered to be, gradually changing its definition to encompass not only physical artefacts but also setting, social histories

and identities. Understanding of the development was shifting to encompass heritage as well in terms of economic development and heritage tourism. Second, examples from Subotica have shown efforts to increase efficacy of local administration. Namely, Rules on the Permitted Development were made more detailed in order to prevent possible misinterpretations, and efficacy of the administrative procedures has been increased by ensuring transparency, shorter processing times and simplification of procedures where possible. Finally, in all three local polities civil sector have shown various degrees of willingness and capacity to play the role of a 'change agent'. The analysis found that civic actors see their opportunity to work in the fields that are in the public interest but not in a domain of the governmental organisations, as well as to work as a liaison between sectors and organisations that due to strong departmental culture and fragmentation do not collaborate or even communicate and therefore are unable to deliver cross-sectoral tasks. This represents an example of organisational learning as civic actors could help alleviate domain and professional defensiveness inherent to governmental sector. It was not possible to assess how successful they could be this early on in their intents; however, it could be concluded that civic sector shows potential to induce closer collaboration, partnerships, joint venture, and new ideas.

A final important finding in relation to the role of ideas concerns the flow of arguments and ideas. Namely, policy process entails the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation happens across borders of different fields (Willard, 1996; Fischer, 2000). Building on the ideas of field of arguments and communities of practice, this analysis had identified three groups of actors (communities) in Subotica whose activities differ in terms of knowledge domains and practice. Those were the *conservation professionals*, *planning professionals* whose activities are backed by the local politicians, and *nongovernmental actors* consisting of voluntary organisations and various individuals. Each of the communities of practice identified here is dealing with the shared sets of issues over prolonged period of time, is committed to shared understanding, learning and sharing of ideas, and has a specific focus of their actions. Conservation and planning professionals, due to their conflicting frames of understanding that resulted in differences in approach, constitute two separate communities of practice. The nongovernmental actors as a community of practice organised in 2007 to oppose the reconstruction of the National Theatre. They continued their organised activities and took part in all public debates concerning conservation of the historic city centre.

Tensions between the conservation and planning

Both heritage conservation and spatial planning in Serbia were established as separate fields and it was only with the adoption of the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering in 1971 that comprehensive spatial planning allowed for their integration. The subsequent laws – the Planning and Spatial Management Act (1974) and the Cultural Heritage Act (1977) – opened the new phase in spatial planning which identified built heritage conservation as one of the sectors that had to be included in the planning strategies (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). Despite all the efforts, the research has inferred that a number of underlying conflicts and tensions could be identified in all three localities, and that those are due to the interplay of environmental, structural and interpretive factors. Close examination and comparison of the case studies have revealed that those factors could be pinpointed to *structural incongruence*, *conflicting frames of understanding* and *attitudes towards collaborative work*.

Firstly, this research has identified that *structural incongruence* between the heritage conservation and spatial planning has been an important factor that could add to underlying tensions. Historically, built heritage conservation and spatial planning have been developed separately and only with the introduction of the comprehensive planning system in Yugoslavia in the 1970s these two sectors started to work collaboratively. However, as both have been developing separately, they ended up being structurally very different. The Town Planning Agencies have been set locally, so they developed a practice of horizontal coordination and collaboration with the other agencies at their territory. Contrary, built heritage conservation stayed in the hands of the network of the Institutes for Cultural Heritage Preservation across Serbia, which has very hierarchical and vertical structure with strictly set organisational boundaries and professional domains. The research has found that that could possible lead to departmentalism, professional and domain defensiveness and lack of communication. As a result, when policy issues do not correspond to responsibilities of individual departments and transcend the established boundaries between the policy fields and organisations, structural incongruence could interfere with or block the capacity of the organizations to act effectively together, as it was the case in Pančevo and Kragujevac.

Secondly, the tensions between conservation and planning could arise due to the existence of *conflicting frames of understanding*. This research has identified numerous instances where policy actors from the two sectors had opposing ideas

which would lead to the conflict. In most of the cases, they referred to conservation officers imposing very strict Rules on the Permitted Development, therefore leaving planning officers little space for intervention. Also, conflicts could emerge between the need to preserve character of the historic area on the one hand, and to manage growth. That was the case with the National Theatre reconstruction in the City of Subotica where local politicians together with the planning officers decided to demolish some parts of the building in order to build an extension that would provide better facilities for the theatre. Although conservation officers consented to this idea, there was much opposition to it both from the professionals and wider public. The planning officers have been defending the idea the whole way through as in their opinion this project had potential to promote the city and its development. In the conservation officers' view, this project contributed to the degradation of cultural property of the great importance.

Other cases refer to the difference in understanding of the concept of cultural heritage development that exists between the representatives from the governmental and civic sector. The former saw cultural heritage conservation and development to be a matter for professionals and institutionalised professional approaches. The latter thought that the concept of the cultural heritage development is too narrowly set and that goals of the development shouldn't be limited to physical conservation and land-use management but should include community development goals, wider public participation, and education of the actors. Also, this research has identified the paradigm shift in relation to ideas that surround different modes of development in the City of Subotica. Two policy agendas stood out in this debate. The first one was the debate about sustainability and sustainable development, which appeared to reflect mainstream debates in spatial planning where special attention was given to the role of heritage. The senior town planning officer (#08) provided the best explanation asserting that sustainable development "involves careful and responsible attitude towards the environment, and cultural values and resources, but in particular, cultural heritage, ethnic diversity and traditions." The second debate concerned the shifting of the focus from heritage preservation to heritage development, and introducing an economic use of heritage as an instrument of urban regeneration and development. In both cases, heritage was seen as central for any development of the historic city centre. Moreover, the National Theatre project was thought to play a central role in the city marketing and promotion of urban regeneration. Spectacular flagship development was understood as a fresh idea of a development that would re-position the city internationally.

Finally, the tensions between conservation and planning could arise due to the existence of negative *attitudes towards collaborative work*. This research has found that even when policy actors saw collaboration as a desirable way to overcome problems and deliver better services to the citizens, institutional boundaries as a result of professional and domain defensiveness were strong enough to prevent from such joint endeavours. Collaboration of planning and conservation professionals during the works on planning documents have been legally binding since the 1970s, although that was not always the case. In Kragujevac for instance, such collaboration has been established for the first time only in 2004, while in Pančevo collaboration was limited to what is legally binding. In contrast, Subotica has a culture of regular communication and collaboration that can be traced from the 1960s. As a result, Subotica was the only case study analysed here to have local strategic partnership established around the initiative to revitalise façades in the historic city centre in the 1960s. This history of good relationships was important as it helped policy actors and organisations to establish mutual understanding and trust, and good interpersonal relations (Alexander, 1995). On the contrary, historically negative attitudes toward collaborative work, often due to professional and domain defensiveness, could be reproduced within the organisation. Such ideas about ‘the other’ have been identified in this research, for instance, when planning officers would be complaining that conservation professionals were ‘conservative’ or that they were ‘trying to protect everything’, and also when conservation professionals felt that planners want to ‘demolish too much’ and to ‘build more’.

The challenge of policy coordination

For the purpose of this research *policy coordination* denotes *management of cross-cutting issues that often do not correspond to responsibilities of individual departments and transcend the established boundaries between the policy fields, sectors and organisations. It is a process of adjustment whereby two or more organisations/departments create and/or use existing decision rules that have been mandated to them in order to deliver better services*. As discussed in the literature review, inherent within this definition are three assumptions that differ policy coordination from other joint ventures: (1) *boundary-spanning* between the policy fields, sectors and/or organisations, (2) *internal adjustments* in terms of mutual adjustment aimed at reinforcing new sets of objectives, means and instruments, and

(3) struggle for power, dominance and autonomy that leads to *interdependencies* due to the internal adaptation to the new circumstances.

The second objective of this research was to *identify barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. Drawing on the empirical evidence presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, this section will identify factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination.

Barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination

Drawing upon various disciplines and diverse literatures, this research identified a range of factors that combined could inhibit or support an overall effort towards policy coordination (see Table 17). None of these factors alone could sabotage policy coordination, but a combination of them can. The aim of this section is to identify factors that are implicated in a success of policy coordination and those that lead to its failure. However, due to variations within and between the localities, the findings presented here would neither be straightforward nor unidimensional; in fact, they would identify the combinations of factors whose interplay affects policy coordination.

The discussion that precedes this section has already identified some of the combinations of factors. Nevertheless, there are others and they would be subsumed as follows: *the quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships, the ownership over policy domains, efficiency of the policy coordination arena, policy ideas and learning, and structural and legal constraints* (see Text box 2 for more details). Those are not mutually exclusive and some overlapping exists.

Table 17: Barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination

Barriers	Opportunities
THEME 1: POLICIES AND IDEAS	
Conflicting understanding of the theoretical concepts between conservation and planning sectors (PA), and between governmental organisations and civic sector (PR, SU)	Dominant historical discourses supportive of policy coordination (SU)
Dominant historical discourses undermining policy coordination (KG)	Perceived benefit of policy coordination foster collaboration and communication (SU)
Perception that the institutional setting doesn't support professional advances and prevents from organisational learning (PR)	The improvement of practice based on previous experience (SU)
Planning professionals think of heritage as a limiting factor (PR)	Civic sector could play a role of the 'game changer' (SU, PA)
	Organisational learning (SU)
THEME 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS	

Political instability and interference (PR, SU, PA) and political interests (SU)	Ability to look forward and see the 'bigger picture' (SU)
The culture of short-term planning (PR, PA)	
Professional inertia and waiting for the higher instances to make the decision (PR, PA, KG)	
Perceived power asymmetry and status differences between conservation and planning sectors (PA), and between conservation officers and politicians, investors and developers (SU) undermines policy coordination	
Limited, uncertain and not diversified funding (PR, SU, PA, KG)	
No long-term funding available for projects that need such an approach (SU)	
THEME 3: MANAGEMENT, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS	
Fuzzy lines of authority and responsibilities hinder accountability (PR, SU, PA, KG)	Tradition of maintaining interorganisational communication and collaboration (SU)
Negative attitudes towards coordinative endeavour (PR, PA, KG)	Positive evaluations of other organisations and policy actors (SU)
Lack of trust between conservation and planning sectors (PR, PA) and between governmental and civic organisations (PR, SU, PA, KG)	Positive attitudes to coordinative endeavour and boundary spanning (SU)
No previous relationships between conservation and planning (KG)	Existence of formal or informal local strategic planning partnerships (SU)
Professional (PR, PA, KG) and domain (PR, SU, PA, KG) defensiveness	Frequent interorganisational communication as a mechanism for monitoring and implementation (SU)
Reluctance to work on projects that require interorganisational coordination (KG)	
Infrequent/inadequate interorganisational communication (PR, PA, KG)	
THEME4: BUREAUCRACY, INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND LEGISLATION	
Departmentalism (PR, PA, KG) and fragmentation (PR, SU, KG) as a result of professional and domain defensiveness	Policy coherence (KG)
Structural incongruence between planning and conservation (PR)	
Inadequately trained personnel (PR)	
Excessive bureaucracy (PR)	
Policy incoherence (PR, PA, KG) and lacunae (PR, SU, KG)	
Sources: PR (professionals at the national level); SU (Subotica); PA (Pančevo); KG (Kragujevac)	

The research has found that close relationships and culture of regular communication among policy actors foster policy coordination. As a result, they create an organisational culture that supports interpersonal and interorganisational relationships and comprises of a patterned system of interaction aimed at keeping all participants in the policy process informed. Challis et al (1988) call it a 'village life'. This 'village' is not strictly a spatial phenomenon, and it includes a range of relevant policy actors in a local polity thus forming a micro-coordination structure. This was the case with Subotica. This research has shown that *quality of interpersonal and*

interorganisational relationships is a powerful driver of policy coordination as it allows for boundary permeability, while communication and trust could help with achieving greater interdependence among organisations and their internal adjustments. Although quality of interpersonal relationships alone might not be enough to produce good coordinative endeavours, quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships promote proactive work behaviours associated with improved organisational performance, such as the examples of organisational learning in Subotica. However, this research has focussed mostly on formal avenues of policy coordination, while the impact of informal relations between the policy actors hasn't been researched. Therefore, more research would be helpful to see how informal interaction among the policy actors impacts interorganisational adjustments, as well as how personal dislikes might inhibit efforts towards coordinative endeavour.

The ownership over policy domain refers to specialisation that could become a serious barrier to policy coordination. This 'ownership' has a strong interdepartmental dimension as policy issues that are of particular importance for one department could become forbidden area for the other. In that way policy domain becomes a territory of a particular department and creates a tunnel vision that manifests as a respect for organisational boundaries, departmentalism, professional and domain defensiveness and inertia. This research has identified that there was interrelatedness between structural fragmentation and departmentalism on one hand, and domain defensiveness, professional defensiveness and status differences on the other. In particular, this has been observed in Pančevo and Kragujevac. Such departmentalised institutional settings – where rules, procedures and job descriptions are the norm – created barriers for policy coordination as the change was difficult to inflict through horizontal coordination. As a consequence, it was difficult to achieve the three preconditions for effective policy coordination, namely, boundary-spanning, interdependence and internal adjustments.

Efficiency of the formal policy coordination arena is very much dependent on policy actors and policy networks in place and their ability to engage in a coordinative endeavour. Policy networks consist of policy actors associated across different sectors and organisations with an aim to secure the desired outcomes in the policy field (Alexander, 1998; Bevir, 2007b). It is the policy network's participants that decide which policy issues should be included and excluded from the agenda. This research has found that efficiency of the formal policy coordination arenas depends on the attitudes towards collaborative work, practice of regular communication and collaboration, trust among policy actors, shared understandings of policy problems

and ability to see a 'bigger picture'. This research has identified that there was a considerable difference between the case study of Subotica and other two case studies in terms of efficiency of formal policy coordination arena. As previously reported in this Chapter, the analysis has found that despite certain amount of tensions and conflicts, and occasional lack of trust, positive attitude towards collaborative work was present in Subotica and it was reinforced by the practice of regular communication and collaboration. In such circumstances, local polity had managed to engage in local strategic partnership for the façades renewal and keep it operational since 1960s. However, this was not the case in the other two localities, Pančevo and Kragujevac. Namely, political interests, interference and instability, and culture of short-term planning made formal policy coordination arena ineffective. Furthermore, professional and domain defensiveness prevented policy actors from establishing collaboration and mutual interdependencies. As discussed in the literature review, policy coordination could rarely come without the loss of the degree of autonomy (Alter & Hage, 1993; Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009). Accordingly, the analysis did not find any evidence of the local strategic partnerships.

The next important set of factors – *policy ideas and learning* – considers the role of ideas in policy coordination and ability of policy actors and organisations to learn and adapt. Literature review has indicated that the way how we talk or write about policy issues reflects how we frame and understand its meanings (Waterton, 2010; Yanow, 2000). The ideas are important for policy coordination as they provide the lenses through which policies are being interpreted by the policy actors and allow organisations to adapt and learn from the experience (Béland & Cox, 2011; Mehta, 2011; Peters, 2013). As previously discussed in this Chapter, the role of ideas in governance of the historic city centres in Serbia could be threefold. First, historically developed discourses could support or disrupt conservation of the historic city centres such was the case in Subotica and Kragujevac respectively. Second, knowledge generated, acquired and accumulated in a policy process could influence changes in policy direction. And final, the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation across the organisational boundaries could support creation of communities of practice and fields of arguments. Here, of particular importance is the second insight into the role of ideas as it concerns organisation's ability to learn from the experience and adapt. This is called organisational learning and it is closely linked to organisation's ability to change in order to meet new demands or societal needs, absorb new knowledge and modify its mindset accordingly, and to survive in terms of staying competitive and innovative (Fischer & Mandell, 2012; Cunliffe, 2008; Swan, Scarbough, & Robertson, 2002; Yanow, 2003). The research has identified that in

terms of ability to learn and adapt Subotica was ahead of other two case studies. As discussed previously in this Chapter, examples of organisational learning from Subotica are threefold; first, Subotica has demonstrated efforts to increase efficacy of local administration, second, there was a willingness and capacity of the civic sector to play the role of a 'change agent', and finally, the professional approach to heritage was shifting from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument of urban regeneration and development.

Text box 2: Sets of factors acting as barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination

The quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships:

- *Acting as an opportunity:* frequent interorganisational communication as a mechanism for monitoring and implementation (SU)
- *Acting as a barrier:* infrequent/inadequate interorganisational communication (PR, PA, KG), and no previous relationships between conservation and planning (KG)

The ownership over policy domains:

- *Professional* (PR, PA, KG) and *domain* (PR, SU, PA, KG) defensiveness

Efficiency of the policy coordination arena:

- *Acting as an opportunity:* positive evaluations of other organisations and policy actors (SU); positive attitudes to coordinative endeavour and boundary spanning (SU); existence of formal or informal local strategic planning partnerships (SU); frequent interorganisational communication as a mechanism for monitoring and implementation (SU); ability to look forward and see the 'bigger picture' (SU)
- *Acting as a barrier:* negative attitudes towards coordinative endeavour (PR, PA, KG); lack of trust between conservation and planning sectors (PR, PA) and between governmental and civic organisations (PR, SU, PA, KG); reluctance to work on projects that require interorganisational coordination (KG); the culture of short-term planning (PR, PA); inertia to get things started and waiting for the higher instances to make the decision (PR, PA, KG)

Policy ideas and learning:

- *The role of ideas:* conflicting understanding of the theoretical concepts between conservation and planning sectors (PA), and between governmental organisations and civic sector (PR, SU); dominant historical discourses could support (SU) or undermine (KG) conservation of the historic city centres
- *Ability to learn and adapt:* organisational learning (SU)

Structural and legal constraints:

- *Departmentalism* (PR, PA, KG) and *fragmentation* (PR, SU, KG) as a result of professional and domain defensiveness
- *Structural incongruence* between planning and conservation (PR)
- *Fuzzy lines of authority and responsibilities* hinder accountability (PR, SU, PA, KG)
- *Economic constraints:* limited, uncertain and not diversified funding (PR, SU, PA, KG); no long-term funding available for projects that need such an approach (SU); budgets allocated only as a last resort in order to prevent the total damage to the cultural property (PA); lack of tax incentives for the owners of cultural properties (PR, SU, PA, KG)
- *Policy incoherence* (PR, PA, KG) and *lacunae* (PR, SU, KG)

Sources: **PR** (professionals at the national level); **SU** (Subotica); **PA** (Pančevo); **KG** (Kragujevac)

This research has identified various *structural and legal constraints* that jointly could infringe efforts towards policy coordination. Those include departmentalism, structural incongruence, fuzzy lines of authority and responsibilities, economic constraints, and policy incoherence and lacunae. As discussed in the literature review, it is more probable that flexible organisational structure would allow for innovation and easier engage in policy coordination (Halpert, 1982). On the contrary, complex organisational settings cause structural incongruence and contradictions which could result in unpredictability and disorder (DiMaggio, 1992; Machado & Burn, 1998). This research has identified structural incongruence, departmentalism and related contradictions both at the national and local level and in all three case studies. The research has found that in particular in Pančevo and Kragujevac the interplay of these factors have caused obstacles to effective policy coordination. Departmentalism in those localities manifested as a strong division between governmental departments and it resulted in insurmountable institutional boundaries caused by domain and professional defensiveness, and lack of horizontal steering, communication and collaboration. As a consequence, departments became separated and fragmented. The research has also found that fragmentation between governmental and civil sectors in Subotica was a direct result of professional and domain defensiveness. In the case of Kragujevac, strong vertical ties and hierarchy hampered horizontal collaboration but possibly cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. That caused many problems because tasks that were easier dealt with horizontally are difficult to accomplish in a vertically steered organisational setting.

As discussed previously in this Chapter, all three local polities have demonstrated fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities and lack of accountability. This is a cause for concern as accountability is important issue in ensuring implementation of any plan as it establishes legally binding sets of rules that oblige policy actor or an institution to act in line with agenda previously agreed on (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). Here that was not the case and as a consequence it was not possible to establish closer supervision and higher professional standards both essential for policy coordination (Litwak & Rothan, 1970). Moreover, limited, uncertain and not diversified funding opportunities often have caused volatility and uncertainty. Finally, as policy coordination is strongly dependent on legal provisions in place, policy incoherence and lacunae would infringe an overall effort for effective policy coordination.

Interpretive schemes and policy coordination

Some issues inimical to policy coordination are essentially interpretive. Some of those could be transient and easily avoided or changed, while the others stem from the practices and traditions that are deeply rooted in cultural, administrative and governance contexts. As discussed in the literature review, interpretive factors here are understood as perceptive and subjective factors that include micro-social elements such as values, attitudes and perceptions of the policy actors (Halpert, 1982; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980).

As a part of the literature review, a systematic review of previous research on policy coordination in urban governance has been conducted (see Table 1). The findings included both contextual and interpretive factors in the policy coordination. This section will extract interpretive factors from the Table 1 and compare them with the interpretive factors identified by this research in order to determine those that are noteworthy contributions to knowledge (see Table 18).

Number of similarities between the findings of this research and the previous research had been found in the first three themes, while the most important contributions are identified in the first theme. The first theme – *policy ideas and learning* – includes a range of interpretive factors identified in both this research and the previous research. For instance, both have found that the understanding of theoretical concepts affects policy coordination: conflicting understandings have hampered policy coordination both at the national level and in Subotica, while previous research identified cases where similarities in understanding led to effective policy coordination (Caffyn & Dahlstrom, 2005; Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011; Schäfer, 2005; John & Cole, 1998). However, Tornberg (2012) observed that proliferation of ideas during the preparation stage could change an overall goal(s) of coordination, but the author didn't offer an explanation of this causality. In contrast, this research has established and explained the connection between dominant historical discourses and overall city development and heritage conservation. As previously elaborated in this Chapter, this research not only has identified that dominant historical discourses could support conservation of the historic environment, as it was the case with the historic city centre in Subotica, but they could also disrupt the efforts conservation of the historic city centres, as they did in Kragujevac.

Similarly, in reviewing the literature, little evidence had been found about the importance of organisational learning, except for the work of Margerum (2002) who

identified that previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours and build capacity for the future. This research has gone some way towards providing new insights on how organisational learning help organisations to learn and adapt. First, it suggested that the professional approach to heritage was shifting from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument of urban regeneration and development. In practice that meant that organisational learning allowed for gradual change of the definition of heritage to encompass not only physical artefacts, but setting, social histories and identities. Also, understanding of the development was shifting to encompass heritage as well in terms of economic development and heritage tourism. Second, this research has identified the examples in Subotica of efforts being made to increase efficacy of local administration in terms of shortening processing times and simplification of procedures where possible. Finally, in all three localities civil sector have shown various degrees of willingness and capacity to play a role of a 'change agent' and to work as a liaison between sectors and organisations that due to strong departmental culture and fragmentation do not collaborate or even communicate and therefore are unable to deliver cross-sectoral tasks.

The second theme – *political and economic factors* – produced several insights for this research, while the previous research identified none. The most noteworthy insight refers to perceived power asymmetry and status differences and their impact on policy coordination. This research has found that power asymmetry contributes to boundary non-permeability and lack of communication which as a consequence hampers policy coordination process. This research has identified several cases that led to this conclusion. Namely, in Pančevo, combination of factors that are mutually reinforcing – power asymmetries between conservation and planning professionals, professional defensiveness, and domain defensiveness – created lock-in mechanism characterised by the boundary non-permeability and lack of communication and collaboration. Similarly, in Subotica, power asymmetry between the conservation officers and politicians, investors and developers, in favour of the latter, contribute to the growing tensions in the local polity. The reason for such situation lies in a controversy with the reconstruction of the National Theatre when political and economic interests overweighed the decision of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection. As a consequence, conservation professionals were seen as passive which created conditions for professional defensiveness.

Table 18: The interpretive factors identified in this research compared to those identified in the literature review on policy coordination in spatial planning

Serbia	Previous research on policy coordination
THEME 1: POLICIES AND IDEAS	
Dominant historical discourses could support (SU) or undermine (KG) conservation of the historic city centres	Proliferation of ideas during the preparation stage could change an overall goal(s) of coordination (P)
Conflicting understanding of the theoretical concepts between conservation and planning sectors (PA), and between governmental organisations and civic sector (PR, SU) affect coordination process	Understanding of theoretical concepts (e.g. sustainable development) affect coordination process (I)
Perception that the institutional setting doesn't support professional advances prevents from organisational learning (PR)	Similarities in how policy actors understand theoretical concepts helps policy coordination (A, D, K, M)
Planning professionals think of heritage as a limiting factor (PR)	Previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours and build capacity for coordination of projects in future – organisational learning (G)
Perceived benefit of policy coordination will foster collaboration and communication (SU)	Conflict could either act as an enhancer or a barrier to coordination; conflicts in the early stages play a key role in ensuring that involved actors depart from traditional world views, role perceptions and practices (O)
The improvement of practice based on previous experiences – organisational learning (SU)	
Civic sector could play a role of the 'game changer' (SU, PA)	
THEME 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS	
Inertia to get things started and waiting for the higher instances to make the decision (PR, PA, KG)	<i>None identified</i>
Perceived power asymmetry and status differences between conservation and planning sectors (PA), and between conservation officers and politicians, investors and developers (SU) undermines policy coordination	
Ability to look forward and see the 'bigger picture' (SU)	
THEME 3: MANAGEMENT, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS	
Negative attitudes towards coordinative endeavour (PR, PA, KG)	Strong multipurpose networks composed of various partners could ensure effective policy coordination (F, K) and strengthen trust among participants (D)
Tradition of maintaining interorganisational communication and collaboration (SU)	The ideas move rather horizontally through the networks than being handed down through hierarchy (Q)
Lack of trust between conservation and planning sectors (PR, PA) and between governmental and civic organisations (PA, SU, PA, KG)	Existing organisational and personal ties are critical for establishing formal and informal collaborative partnerships (J, O)
No previous relationships between conservation and planning acts as a barrier to policy coordination (KG)	Networks reflect structures of power and hierarchies (F)
Professional (PR, PA, KG) and domain (PR, SU, PA, KG) defensiveness	Levels of trust between the actors in a policy process (B)
Reluctance to work on projects that require interorganisational coordination (KG)	Willingness to commit to a joint venture (P)
Infrequent/inadequate interorganisational communication (PR, PA, KG)	Previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours, build trust, shared understanding and capacity for coordination
Positive evaluations of other organisations	

and policy actors, and positive attitudes to coordinative endeavour and boundary spanning (SU)	of projects in future (G)
Frequent communication as a mechanism for monitoring and implementation (SU)	Professional defensiveness constrains boundary-spanning (H)
	Effective coordination is based on shared understandings, consensus over policy direction and similarities in organisational culture and institutional histories (A, D, G, K, M, Q)

THEME 4: BUREAUCRACY, INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND LEGISLATION

None identified

Structural fragmentation and departmentalisation is a result of staff being required to think 'outside the box' (M)

Divisions between conflicting sides are rather being institutionalised than consensus sought (O)

Sources: **PR** (professionals at the national level); **SU** (Subotica); **PA** (Pančevo); **KG** (Kragujevac); **A** (Caffyn & Dahlstrom, 2005); **B** (Guarneros-Meza, 2008); **D** (John & Cole, 1998); **F** (Le Gales, 2001); **G** (Margerum, 2002); **H** (Mawson & Hall, 2000); **I** (Pearce & Ayres, 2007); **J** (Rayle & Zegras, 2013); **K** (Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011); **L** (Sager, 2004); **M** (Schäfer, 2005); **O** (Sørensen, 2014); **P** (Tornberg, 2012); **Q** (Vigar, 2009)

The research findings related to the third theme – *management, personal and cultural factors* – have been mostly aligned with the previous research. For instance, both this research and the previous research highlighted the importance of studying trust, interorganisational communication and collaboration, and attitudes towards coordinative endeavours. However, previous research fell short in tackling domain defensiveness that has been identified at all levels and localities in Serbia. As previously elaborated in this Chapter, domain defensiveness could be a consequence of various factors. For instance, domain defensiveness could be a direct result of protection of the professional domains as it was the case in Subotica. Namely, tensions between conservation and planning understood to be pertinent to their role and a monopoly and elitism of the Institute for Cultural Heritage Protection created conditions for professional defensiveness. In Pančevo, domain defensiveness was a consequence of a strong division of responsibilities between the institutions due to legal incongruence that supports protection of the organisational authority (professionalization), sectoral fragmentation and boundary non-permeability. In Kragujevac strong domain defensiveness was due to very narrow understanding of one's role and no history of previous relationships which altogether acted as a mechanism that prevented boundary permeability, interdependencies and internal adjustments necessary for coordinative endeavours to happen. Taken together, these findings suggest that domain defensiveness could become a serious obstacle for policy coordination as it could imply a series of factors such as professional defensiveness, departmentalism, sectoral fragmentation, boundary non-permeability, lack of communication and collaboration, lack of shared understandings of policy issues, professional inertia, and lack of willingness to learn.

Tracing the puzzles: synthesis and recombination

The preceding sections of this Chapter have prepared the way for a return to the puzzles generated by the empirical data presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. The central question to be addressed is how local practices, traditions and organisational rationalities influence interpretation of governance practice in different localities and create the variations in practice of policy coordination.

Organisational rationality and practice of governance

Essentially, this research claimed that organisational rationality plays important role in shaping the decision making process and the behaviour of policy actors, and that also has a potential to create barriers and opportunities, decide on how policy issues are interpreted, and what gets to constitute accepted arguments in the policy debate and what does not. Moreover, this research claimed that organisational rationality that underpins the practice of governance is a heterogeneous phenomenon and that the way organisations have been designed and governed will depend, both on the national culture, and on the local culture as it depends on norms, values and knowledge of the local policy actors. As noted before, the concept of organisational rationality here is understood as a normative concept that refers to underlying logic of interaction coming out of broader cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide decision-making in a field, and it is most closely linked with the notion of institutional logic (Lounsbury, 2008). It denotes a point of view of the individuals working within the organisation; the point of view that has a power to guide which ideas get embraced or marginalised. More importantly, it refers to a concept of *institutional logic* that looks at *how cultural rules and cognitive structures shape organizational structures* (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977), as well as *what effect behaviours of individual and organizational actors have on institutional logic in return* (Thornton, 2004), therefore providing a link between structure and agency in an organisational context (Giddens, 1984). The concept of institutional logic here encompasses both the interpretive and contextual factors within the organisation and in its organisational setting (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). Perhaps the key assumption of the institutional logics approach is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded within underlying logic of interaction in local polity (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013).

In line with the aforementioned claims, the first two research questions sought to determine *how practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*, and *how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*

Building on the above mentioned theoretical assertions, this research will consider following aspects of the governance practice as constituent of organisational rationality:

- 1) the underlying logic of interactions within local governance networks in terms of their capacity to engage in a coordinative endeavour, cross organisational boundaries, ability to trust their partners and commit to learning,
- 2) the contexts and structures policy coordination takes place locally, and
- 3) what is assumed as an appropriate kind of decisions to guide actions.

Compared to the other two case studies (see Table 19), Subotica represents the most advanced case study in terms of demonstrated capacity for policy coordination and governance of the historic city centre. Subotica is full of networks, both formal and informal, and they could be traced back to at least the 1960s. These networks are characterised by pluriformity and interdependence (Nilsson & Persson, 2003), but also by a certain degree of fragmentation as civil society has been excluded from the governance process. Policy coordination in Subotica is seen as a tool to deliver better policies for its citizens, and it is fostered by a culture of regular communication and collaboration among policy actors – ‘village life’. The research has identified a number of other issues that act as the change drivers, namely dominant historical discourses supportive of conservation of the historic city centre, organisational learning as it induces changes in how issues are being dealt with, and nongovernmental actors as critics of the institutions and their work. The research has also shown that policy coordination in Subotica happens in all three contexts: political, administrative and task-related (Alexander, 1995; Sørensen, 2014; Whetten, 1982). Governance structures involved in policy coordination span micro-, meso- and meta-structures (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). In terms of the decision-making, the research has found that actions are taken in order to keep all policy actors informed, seek consensus through regular consultations, and position Subotica as a regional centre.

Table 19: Organisational rationality and practice governance

The underlying logic of interactions	Contexts and structures of policy coordination	Kind of decisions that guide actions
SUBOTICA		
Collaborative and communicative rationality	Political, administrative and task-related coordination	Keeping all policy actors informed
Partnerships-based governance networks	Micro- and meso-coordination structures	Consensus is sought through regular consultations Positioning Subotica as a regional centre
PANCEVO		
Formal-bureaucratic rationality	Political coordination Meta-coordination structures	Formal agreement sought from all relevant institution Acknowledgement of interorganisational boundaries Dependence on higher tiers of the decision-making
Kragujevac		
Formal-bureaucratic rationality	Political coordination Meta-coordination structures	No interdepartmental communication Economic development takes over heritage conservation Positioning Kragujevac as a regional centre

The research has identified a number of similarities between Pančevo and Kragujevac. For instance, both are characterised by insurmountable interorganisational boundaries maintained as a consequence of domain and professional defensiveness, sectoral fragmentation and departmentalism. In both localities collaboration and communication tends to be limited to legally binding exchange of information. As a consequence, the integration of heritage conservation into planning is very difficult due to lack of communication and collaboration. Similarly, consensus over policy direction is sought in a process of political coordination (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991) that involves meta-coordination structures (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). Furthermore, the analysis has shown that planning and implementation mechanism are not developed enough to allow for policy coordination to happen in any other way but through hierarchy. Strong vertical ties and hierarchy hamper horizontal collaboration and possibly cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. As a consequence, neither of the two localities has strategic partnerships in place nor is their establishment seen as desirable.

The research has identified a range of policy orientations that guide actions. So, in Pančevo, policy actors rather seek formal agreement from all relevant institutions than

engage in policy deliberation, all contacts are maintained with regard of the interorganisational boundaries, and policy direction is brokered at the higher tiers of the decision-making hierarchy. Similarly, in Kragujevac, the research have found that actions are taken in a context that do not support interdepartmental communication, actions towards economic development prevail over heritage conservation in an effort to position the City as a regional centre. Governance of the historic city centre of Kragujevac is further hampered by the dominant discourses of the City development as those are not supportive of conservation.

This research has identified two major types of organisational rationality, namely collaborative and partnership-based in Subotica, and formal-bureaucratic rationality in Pančevo and Kragujevac. Given the differences observed in the empirical data it could be concluded that organisational rationality influence practices and local traditions and lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas. A possible explanation for that is that each mode of organisational rationality can be coupled with the particular contexts and structures of policy coordination. So, collaborative and partnership-based rationality allows for a range of policy coordination mechanisms to be employed, such as political, administrative and task-related coordination at the micro- and meso-coordination level. On the contrary, formal-bureaucratic rationality limits policy actors to political coordination at the meta-coordination level. Therefore, it could be concluded that differences in organisational rationality do lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas.

What types of factors explain the breakthroughs?

The last two research question sought to explain *why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another, and what type of factors account for the differences in policy coordination between the local contexts?*

The discussion about the barriers and opportunities has already identified the combinations of factors that could affect the process of policy coordination. In addition, the evidence accumulated from the empirical data overwhelmingly points out in one direction: to conclusion that the differences between Subotica and other two case studies could serve as a base for exploring factors that are implicated in success

and those implied in failure of policy coordination. Building on the aforementioned assertions, the findings of this research suggest that *the key features of successful policy coordination* include:

- Uninterrupted and preferably prolonged opportunities for quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships ('village life') that would foster interactions, span organisational borders and as a result permit creation of culture of trust, organisational learning and transfer of good practices;
- A strong predisposition towards development of organisational culture which sustains learning and adaptation. The findings of this research have demonstrated that organisation's ability to learn is closely linked to its ability to change and adapt. In terms of Subotica, examples of organisational learning include efforts to increase efficacy of local administration, willingness and capacity of the civic sector to play the role of a 'change agent', and the change of professional approach to heritage from being characterised as an act of preservation towards being characterised as an instrument of urban regeneration and development;
- Increased efficiency of policy coordination arena that acts as an opportunity and it fosters positive attitudes to coordinative endeavour and boundary spanning, helps creation of formal and informal policy networks, such as local strategic planning partnerships, and it fosters practice of regular communication and collaboration, and trust among policy actors; and
- External catalysts to change such as dominant historical discourses if they are supportive of heritage conservation and governance of the historic city centres.

In the same time, *the key obstacles to policy coordination* could be pinpointed to:

- The ownership over the domain as in that way policy domain becomes a territory of a particular department creating a tunnel vision that manifests as a respect for organisational boundaries, departmentalism, professional and domain defensiveness and inertia. In particular, this has been observed in Pančevo and Kragujevac;
- The particular institutional settlements that could result in structural and legal constraints to policy coordination. Those could result in departmentalism, structural incongruence, fuzzy lines of authority and responsibilities, economic constraints, and policy incoherence and lacunae.
- The combination of factors that contribute to the poor quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships, and low efficiency of the policy

coordination arena. Those include infrequent and/or inadequate interorganisational communication, no previous relationships between conservation and planning, negative attitudes towards coordinative endeavour, lack of trust, reluctance to work on projects that require interorganisational coordination, culture of the short-term planning, and inertia; and

- The external catalysts to change such as dominant historical discourses that could infringe efforts for heritage conservation and governance as it was the case in the City of Kragujevac.

It is difficult to provide a definitive explanation to why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and why would an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another. However, as all the key features of successful policy coordination were observed in Subotica, it could be concluded that those represent type of factors that account for the differences between the local contexts. A note of caution is due here since it was not certain that these findings can be extrapolated to all cases. However, it was possible to observe that two endogenous factors – ability of local polity to learn and adapt, and quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships ('village life') – and dominant historical discourses supportive of heritage conservation as an exogenous factor account for the differences in policy coordination between the local contexts.

Conclusions

This Chapter presented the key findings of the research structured into a series of discussion cycles. First, it reflected on a number of issues relating to political and administrative culture, and modes of governance and societal trends that have shaped the approach to governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. Second, it drew on the findings from the three case studies to explore how interpretive factors influence practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia. In so doing, it identified following issues to be of importance: domain and professional defensiveness, interaction potential for a joint endeavour, and the role of ideas. In the final subsection will present the results relating to the first two research questions. Third, it identified a detail account of factors contributing to underlying conflicts and tensions between conservation and planning. Fourth section provided a

comprehensive analysis of barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination. The fifth and final section provided the answers to the research questions.

This research began like a jumbled puzzle aimed at *bettering our understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. The following part – *Conclusions and implications* – will return to the puzzle, briefly summarising what the picture looked like at the end of the literature review and then explaining how the new and the old pieces fit to make the whole picture clear. In so doing, it will summarise the main areas covered in the research, the key findings and their implications for theory, and it will identify what is a distinct contribution of this research to knowledge. Finally, it will suggest implications for further research.

Conclusions and implications

Introduction

This research has begun by uncovering some of the controversies that lie at the heart of studying practice of governance of the historic city centres and that were related to the following questions. Can governance of the historic city centres succeed in a complex array of actors, networks and organisations involved in the policy deliberation? How can historic city centres bestow the identity and sense of place for their inhabitants and keep developing? How to reconcile the competing demands for preservation of character of the historic areas on the one hand, and management of growth as a response to changing societal needs on the other? In other words, studying practice of governance in the face of complex relations of power, political interests, personal and collective identities means reaching far beyond the surface to grasp the micro-political dimensions of planning practices (Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Forester, 1993; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b).

Having those controversies in mind this research began like a jumbled puzzle aimed at *bettering our understanding of organisational rationality that underpins the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. Against that background *this research sought to establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process*. In so doing, this research embraced the interpretative paradigm to examine conservation and governance of the historic city centres as a contextualised and subjective process that takes into account what is meaningful to policy actors. Meanings are context and situation specific and dependent on both expert and tacit knowledge held by relevant policy actors (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b).

The literature review has found that the underlying assumptions of the dominant theoretical grounding arise from the normative and positivist accounts. Namely, most

of the theory of conservation and governance of the historic areas had been developed to support production of prescriptive approaches with an aim to guide practice and the development of legislation, as well as to produce tools and mechanisms for their implementation, without paying much attention to the contextual factors. However, it was because of those contextual factors – such as the organisational culture, tacit knowledge, practices, traditions or behaviour –, that seeking for the best or optimal solutions often did not work as it presupposed the condition of certainty which was not applicable to most of the planning and policy problems (Blyth, 2002; Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Fischer, 2000; Fischer & Gottweis, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Yanow, 2000).

Several informing theories have been chosen as a theoretical grounding of the research as they were important for understanding complex reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic areas and the policy coordination entailed by that process. In this sense, the aim of the literature review was to assist understanding of the research problem and its analysis, provide theoretical grounding upon which it would be possible to identify the contributions that could be made by the new research, and justify the research approach that has been chosen. The following informing theories have been reviewed: the theory of governance and complexity, urban governance as a deliberative practice, and as a situated and contextual practice, and the theory of policy coordination. All of them have been focussing on micro-social perspectives, and on the local contexts and relationships between the policy actors. In order to assess the extent of previous knowledge in the field, two systematic reviews of the empirical studies have been conducted, namely, the research of heritage conservation from the micro-social perspective and a systematic review of the empirical studies discussing various aspects of policy coordination in urban governance, including governance of the historic areas.

The seven studies identified and reviewed here addressed various issues related to *the micro-social relationships within partnerships and governance networks* in the UK, Spain and Mexico (Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003; Blanco, Bonet, & Walliser, 2011; Guarneros-Meza, 2008), *collaborative planning and social mobilisation of policy actors* in the USA and Spain (Diaz Orueta, 2007; van Driesche & Lane, 2002), *implications of neo-liberalism on built heritage management* in Ireland and Sweden (Negussie, 2006), and *the influence of power struggles on conservation interventions* (Hammami, 2012). Much of that work reflected hermeneutic assumptions and was focusing on interpretive analysis of policy narratives, i.e.

interviews with relevant policy actors, policy documents and other relevant texts. Still, these studies present very fragmented analysis of micro-social and micro-political dimensions of planning and conservation practices and further research is needed in order to produce more coherent body of knowledge.

Another systematic review examined the empirical studies discussing various aspects of policy coordination in urban governance, including governance of the historic areas. The review presented findings from a range of empirical settings (albeit mostly in the Europe), levels of analysis, time frames and methods from which ideas and insights have been generated, and it summarised the key findings, and implications for policy coordination. Unfortunately, only two empirical studies reviewed there referred to governance of the historic environment – Guarneros-Meza (2008) and Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, and Pendlebury (2003) – while the remaining 15 touched on various aspects of policy coordination in urban governance. Therefore, it could be concluded that more research is needed to better our understanding of policy coordination in relation to governance of the historic areas.

The problems addressed in this research were twofold. Firstly, this research has provided *a comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. Secondly, this research *has identified barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. In particular, this research has identified factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination.

The key research questions posed at the beginning of this research were:

- *How practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia? And how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?*
- *Why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another? And what type of factors account for those differences between the local contexts?*

This concluding Chapter will consider these research problems and questions in light of the theoretical developments presented in Chapter 1, parent theory presented in the Chapters 3 and 4, and empirical engagement made in the thesis and presented in the Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

The Chapter consists of three parts. The first one provides the full picture of the research's findings. The second provides the theoretical implications of the research. And the final section suggests possible directions for further research.

Conclusions about the research problems

The twofold objective of this research was to increase our understanding of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia on the one hand, and to identify and explain barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination on the other. Also, in order to ease reaching the conclusions this research has posed two sets of research questions. This section will provide a summary of the key research findings presented in the Chapter 8. First, it would provide a political, administrative and governance context in which governance of the historic city centres in Serbia takes place. Second, it would present the key findings in relation to the micro-social perspective of governance. Third, it will discuss tensions between the conservation and planning. Forth, it will provide a comprehensive analysis of barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination. Final subsection will summarise the key findings in relation to the research questions.

Political, administrative and governance context

As noted in the parent theory, transformation of political, administrative and governance context in Serbia can be associated with the processes of self-management, devolution of power, localism and introduction of comprehensive planning, all of which prompted significant economic, political and social changes since the 1950s. The most important change was the introduction of self-management in the 1950s which implied a system of multilevel governance and led to decentralisation and devolution of power in the 1960s and 1970s respectively, strengthening the local level of governance (Denitch, 1973). In terms of spatial planning, the 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia opened the doors for the integration of physical and socio-economic planning within the system of the self-management and social ownership. These processes reached their peak in the 1970s with the adoption of the Basic Policy on Urbanism and Spatial Ordering in 1971 and the subsequent laws in the Republic of Serbia – the Planning and Spatial Management Act (1974) and

the Cultural Heritage Act (1977) – which marked the beginning of comprehensive spatial planning model (Brguljan, 2006; Krstić B. , 2006). In parallel to the process of political transformation, integrated spatial planning aimed to restructure economic and spatial development. Yet, after about the two decades of implementation, it became clear that some of the changes it introduced were far from what was intended (Nedović-Budić, Đordjević, & Dabović, 2011; Pogačnik, 1987; Simmie, 1989). Although often praised for its interdisciplinary, holistic approach that brought together all the important sectors and stakeholders in a participatory, ‘bottom-up’ regional and local planning process, in practice the move to integrated spatial planning was lacking efficacy, because decision making process took a long time and there were no guarantees that decisions were going to be implemented, and the system of delegation that was in place did not guarantee that real public interests were represented (Simmie, 1989). Despite the centralisation of power, and political and economic instability in the 1990s, many of the problems still persisted in the 2000s. Driven by the evolving forms of neoliberal spatial governance, changes in spatial planning legislation in Serbia in the 2000s favoured competitiveness, the new forms of partnerships and networks, and promotion of the local level as the level where interventions take place (Stojkov, 2007; Stalna konferencija gradova i opština, 2004).

The present study has identified following contextual problems: political interference and political instability, departmentalism, fragmentation and hierarchy, and fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibility.

This research has found that *political interference* and *political instability* often coupled with other problems such as the lack of political commitment, culture of short-term planning, prevalence of political and economic interests and lack of leadership. For instance, political instability and no continuity would result in absence of the long-term planning. Similarly, the lack of political commitment and leadership resulted in no long-term vision for the historic city centres in terms of conservation politics. An implication of this is the probable causality that exists between political and cultural contexts inherited from the time of the self-management, and what is now deemed publicly and politically acceptable. This assertion corroborates with the ideas of Mandell and Steelman (2003) who suggested that over time rules and guidelines develop within institutional arrangements in order to support certain modes of behaviour. Similarly, for the theory of social embeddedness, contingency in term of knowledge, practices and behaviour is a result of a person or organisation being part of a complex web of social relations and social networks sown over time (Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011; Schmidt A. , 2007). In the case of Serbia, a parallel could be

drawn between the socialist system in the past and the behaviour of policy actors in the present as socialism has been characterised by the deficit in democratic and political steering. Namely, despite decentralisation and devolution of power, the self-management system resulted in creation of excessive bureaucracy that at the local level acted under the direct influence of the central government and became detached from its citizens. It is due to this detachment that politicians often act in accordance to their own preferences and still lack political accountability that is here at its early stages of creation.

Another important insight was that local governance has been characterised by a *strong departmentalism* and *fragmentation* due to domain and professional defensiveness, structural incongruence and lack of communication and collaboration. Structural incongruence interferes with or blocks the capacity of the organizations to act effectively together, unless problems are dealt with. The research has also identified that varied degree of fragmentation exists between governmental and civil organisations. Furthermore, the research has shown that *strong vertical ties and hierarchy* not only hamper horizontal collaboration but also cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. In practice that means that consensus over collaboration with other sectors is brokered and maintained at the executive levels in the local polities, that is to say, at the meta-coordination level (Cropper, Ebers, Huxam, & Smith Ring, 2008). As a result, lower tiers don't have to establish a regular communication, but only to respect another's role and domain. Isolated within their own organisations and sectors, respondents often feel directly subordinated to the higher tiers of a command.

Finally, this research has identified that all three local polities have demonstrated *fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities* and *lack of accountability*. Namely, none of the planning documents identify which policy actors or institutions would take the responsibility to implement planning objectives. Instead, responsibility for planning was entirely institutionalized in the discipline, the statutory authority, and its products which points out to the lack of accountability (Aars & Fimreite, 2005; Rhodes, 1997; van Kersbergen & van Waarden, 2004). The most likely cause for that was the legacy of self-management system that prevented professional control and accountability to be developed.

The micro-social perspective of governance of the historic city centres

The first objective of this research was to provide *a comprehensive interpretation of the practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia*. Very little was found in the literature on the question of micro-social and micro-political dimensions of planning and conservation practices. The systematic literature review has identified only seven relevant studies to the research topic. They present very fragmented analysis and further research is needed in order to produce more coherent body of knowledge. Findings from this research suggested that there are three key topics that explain micro-social and micro-political dimensions of planning and conservation practices: domain and professional defensiveness, interaction potential for a joint endeavour, and the role of ideas.

The research has found that all three localities display certain degree of domain and professional defensiveness. In Subotica, domain defensiveness was a direct result of protection of the professional domains. The analysis has also shown that that was not enough to seriously impede governance of the historic city centre due to a positive attitude towards collaborative work and a history of good relations. In contrast, both Pančevo and Kragujevac were characterised by strong domain and professional defensiveness. The research has found that in Pančevo this was because of a strong division of responsibilities between the institutions due to legal incongruence, very narrow understanding of one's role, no history of previous relationships, lack of shared understandings of policy issues, no culture of collaboration, professional inertia, and lack of willingness to learn. For instance, legal incongruence supported protection of the organisational authority (professionalization), sectoral fragmentation and boundary non-permeability, while narrow understanding of one's role and no history of previous relationships acted as a mechanism that prevented boundary permeability, interdependencies and internal adjustments necessary for coordinative endeavours to happen. These findings are in agreement with the current literature. For instance, Challis et al (1988) and Stead and Meijers (2009) have asserted that when shared understanding of policy issues is absent, it opens the doors for professional defensiveness. Also, DiMaggio (1992) and Machado and Burn (1998) have documented that structural incongruence cause unpredictability and disorder, and could interfere with or block the capacity of the organization to act effectively, unless problems are dealt with.

In contrast to Pančevo case study, the research has found that domain defensiveness in Kragujevac was not a result of the tendency towards protection of the

organisational authority (professionalization), but a consequence of respect for the interorganisational boundaries. Namely, no history of relations and collaboration between the conservation and planning sectors before the 2005 resulted in the lack channels of interorganisational communication, and no boundary permeability which in return supported strong departmentalism and lack of horizontal steering.

This research has also shown that there was interrelatedness between structural fragmentation and departmentalism on one hand, and domain defensiveness, professional defensiveness and status differences on the other. This finding has confirmed previous research that asserts that domain defensiveness and professional defensiveness are mutually reinforcing and interconnected concepts (Halpert, 1982; Castells, 2011; Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Whetten & Leung, 1979; Challis, et al., 1988; Stead & Meijers, 2009).

In relation to *interaction potential for joint endeavour* this research has produced some important insights. This was made possible due to a considerable difference between the case study of Subotica and other two case studies which allowed for a comparison to be made. The analysis has found that Subotica was characterised by a positive attitude towards collaborative work that was reinforced by the practice of regular communication and collaboration. That resulted in creation of local strategic partnership for the façades renewal in 1960s, as well as numerous other efforts in transforming public services to better meet needs and demands of its citizens. In contrast, the other two localities, Pančevo and Kragujevac, have demonstrated very low interaction potential for joint endeavour. The research has shown that this was due to the professional and domain defensiveness that prevented policy actors from collaboration, and resources and domain sharing. Another important finding was that both localities were characterized by the very strong vertical ties, hierarchy within the sectors and the lack of horizontal collaboration. As a result, only meta-coordination structures here were involved in policy coordination, that is to say, the direct political steering was necessary for any joint endeavour.

Finally, this research has offered several important insights in relation to *the role of ideas* in the process of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia that could be generalised to not only governance of the historic environment, but also urban governance. First, this research has found that historically developed discourses matter as those could affect an overall direction of conservation and development of the historic city centres. Namely, they could support or disrupt conservation of the historic city centres and this research supported this claim with the examples from

Subotica and Kragujevac. The research has found that the discursive construction of development of the City of Subotica was situated within the two groups of policy discourses supportive of conservation of the historic city centre: the re-establishment of the City as a regional and international centre, and the need to strengthen multiculturalism and ethnical identities. In contrast, an overall development of the City of Kragujevac was in conflict with conservation of the historic city centre as they were directed towards further economic development aiming to transform the city centre into a business centre where numerous companies would maintain their headquarters. The research has identified that policy discourses that supported such a policy direction could be pinned down to three groups, namely Kragujevac as a leader in Central Serbia, 'the City of skyscrapers' and Fiat and the metaphor of revival.

As described above, this research has identified that there was a link between the historically developed discourses and development of the city. This is an important finding as it enhances our understanding of how historically developed discourses influence conservation and governance of the historic environment. This finding supports previous research of Hammami (2012) who has found that understanding rationales underpinning conservation interventions in historic city areas requires exploration of historically developed discursive practices. However, by looking at the particular set of discourses identified to have bearing on conservation interventions he overlooked other discourses that might indirectly affected policy formulation and its direction. This research extends his assertion by claiming that not only historically developed discourses relevant to conservation influence policy formulation and its direction, but other historically developed discourses do too, as noted here, those related to economic development and growth.

The second important finding was that organisational learning plays an important role in governance of the historic city centres and as the research has found, knowledge generated, acquired and accumulated in a policy process could influence changes in policy direction. This research has identified three cases to support this claim and those are related to the shifts in professional approach to heritage, efforts being invested to increase efficacy of the local administration, and willingness and capacity shown by civil sector to play a role of a 'change agent', all of which were described in the Chapter 8 based on the empirical data presented in the Chapter 5. This is an important finding as it highlights the role organisational learning plays as it allows organisation to adapt and learn from the experience.

A final important finding in relation to the role of ideas concerns the flow of arguments and ideas. Building on concepts such as the field of arguments and communities of practice, this research has found that flow of arguments and ideas in the process of governance of the historic city centre in Subotica condition their transformation and that transformation happens across the borders of different fields. This finding corroborates previous studies of Willard (1996) and Fisher (2000) who studied similar phenomena in relation to liberalism and modern democracy, and intersection of local knowledge and spatial planning policies respectively. Chapters 5 and 8 provide more detailed account of empirical data and analysis that support this claim.

Tensions between the conservation and planning

This research has found that despite all the efforts to integrate heritage conservation with spatial planning in Serbia, it was possible to identify a number of underlying conflicts and tensions in all three localities. Close examination and comparison of the case studies have revealed that those factors were due to the interplay of environmental, structural and interpretive factors, and for that reason they will be addressed here in a separate subsection.

This research has identified that tension between the conservation and planning could be due to *structural incongruence*, *conflicting frames of understanding* and *attitudes towards collaborative work*. This research has found that structural incongruence between heritage conservation and spatial planning due to those two sectors being institutionalised separately could pose a serious obstacle in collaboration. As they developed separately, they ended up being structurally very different – the Town Planning Agencies have developed a practice of horizontal coordination and collaboration with other agencies at their territory, while built heritage conservation preserved its very hierarchical and vertical structure with strictly set organisational boundaries and professional domains. This research has found that structural incongruence could interfere or block the capacity of the organizations to act effectively together, as it was the case in Pančevo and Kragujevac.

Second, this research identified numerous instances where a tension between conservation and planning has arisen due to the existence of *conflicting frames of understanding*. This research has identified several types of conflicts as the most important, namely, conflicts due to conservation officers imposing very strict Rules on the Permitted Development, conflicts between the need to preserve character of the

historic area on the one hand, and to manage growth in Subotica, and differences in understanding of the concept of cultural heritage development that exists between the representatives from the governmental and civic sector.

Finally, this research has found that even when policy actors saw collaboration as a desirable way to overcome problems and deliver better services to the citizens, institutional boundaries as a result of professional and domain defensiveness were strong enough to prevent from such joint endeavours. The contrasting examples of negative and positive attitudes towards collaborative work in Pančevo and Kragujevac, and in Subotica respectively were presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and discussed in the Chapter 8.

The challenge of policy coordination

The second objective of the research was to *identify barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination* by comparing the three case studies. In particular, this research sought to identify factors supporting and inhibiting policy coordination. The systematic literature review has found that there was a general lack of research that would provide a comprehensive analysis of policy coordination in relation to governance of the historic environment. Therefore, literature review focussed on policy coordination in urban governance, including governance of the historic environment. Unfortunately, only two empirical studies out of 17 that were identified refer to governance of the historic environment – Guarneros-Meza (2008) and Healey, de Megalhaes, Madanipour, and Pendlebury (2003).

This research identified a range of factors that combined could inhibit or support an overall effort towards policy coordination. Those included *the quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships, the ownership over policy domains, efficiency of the policy coordination arena, policy ideas and learning, and structural and legal constraints*, and they were not mutually exclusive and some overlapping existed (the complete summary of barriers to and opportunities for policy coordination that were identified in the analysis of the case studies could be found in the Chapter 8).

First, the research has found that close relationships and culture of regular communication among policy actors foster policy coordination. This so-called 'village life' (Challis, et al., 1988) is not strictly a spatial phenomenon, and it includes a range of relevant policy actors in a local polity thus forming a micro-coordination structure,

as it was the case in Subotica. This research has shown that *quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships* is a powerful driver of policy coordination as it allows for boundary permeability, while communication and trust could help with achieving greater interdependence among organisations and their internal adjustments. Furthermore, this research has found that quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships promote proactive work behaviours associated with improved organisational performance, such as the examples of organisational learning in Subotica.

Second, this research has shown that *the ownership over policy domain* in terms of specialisation, respect for organisational boundaries, departmentalism, professional and domain defensiveness and inertia could infringe policy coordination. This 'ownership' has a strong interdepartmental dimension as policy issues that are of particular importance for one department could become forbidden area for the other creating a 'tunnel vision'. In particular, this has been observed in Pančevo and Kragujevac. This research has found that such departmentalised institutional settings – where rules, procedures and job descriptions are the norm – created barriers for policy coordination as the change was difficult to inflict through horizontal coordination, as it was not possible to ensure effective boundary-spanning, interdependence and internal adjustments.

Third, this research has shown that policy coordination was dependent on policy actors and policy networks in place and their ability to engage in a coordinative endeavour. This research has found that efficiency of the formal policy coordination arenas depends on the attitudes towards collaborative work, practice of regular communication and collaboration, trust among policy actors, shared understandings of policy problems and ability to see a 'bigger picture'. This research has also identified that there were considerable differences between the case study of Subotica and other two case studies in terms of efficiency of formal policy coordination arena. In Subotica, although certain amount of tensions and conflicts, and occasional lack of trust, positive attitude towards collaborative work was present, it was the practice of regular communication and collaboration that helped local polity to engage in local strategic partnership for the façades renewal and keep it operational since 1960s. In contrast, the research has found that in Pančevo and Kragujevac professional and domain defensiveness, interference and political instability, and culture of short-term planning made formal policy coordination arena ineffective.

Fourth, this research has shown that ideas and discourses have a role to play in policy coordination, as well as the ability of policy actors and organisations to learn and adapt. As previously elaborated here, the role of ideas in governance of the historic city centres in Serbia relates to the historically developed discourses, knowledge generated, acquired and accumulated in a policy process, and the flow of arguments and ideas, and their transformation across the organisational boundaries.

Finally, this research has identified various *structural and legal constraints* that jointly could infringe efforts towards policy coordination, such as departmentalism, structural incongruence, fuzzy lines of authority and responsibilities, economic constraints, and policy incoherence and lacunae. The research has found that in particular in Pančevo and Kragujevac the interplay of these factors have caused obstacles to effective policy coordination. In Kragujevac specifically, strong vertical ties and hierarchy hampered horizontal collaboration and possibly cause vertical fragmentation within sectors. The research has found that all three local polities have demonstrated fuzzy distribution of authority and responsibilities and lack of accountability. Finally, as policy coordination is strongly dependent on legal provisions in place, this research has shown that policy incoherence and lacunae would infringe an overall effort for effective policy coordination.

Having identified the range of factors that could support or inhibit policy coordination, this research moved on to identify issues inimical to policy coordination that were essentially interpretive. As explained in the literature review, interpretive factors here are understood as perceptive and subjective factors that include micro-social elements such as values, attitudes and perceptions of the policy actors (Halpert, 1982; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). In order to do so, and to identify noteworthy contributions to knowledge, the comparison between the systematic review of previous research on policy coordination in urban governance and the findings of this research was made. There were a number of similarities between the findings of this research and the previous research, however, the focus here will be on those interpretive factors that extend our knowledge of policy coordination in governance of the historic environment.

Several previous studies have found that similarities in framing and understanding policy issues led to effective policy coordination (Caffyn & Dahlstrom, 2005; Robins, Pattison, & Bates, 2011; Schäfer, 2005; John & Cole, 1998). However, Tornberg (2012) observed that proliferation of ideas during the preparation stage could change an overall goal(s) of coordination. However, the author didn't offer an explanation of

this causality. This research has established and explained the connection between dominant historical discourses and overall city development and heritage conservation. As previously elaborated in the Chapter 8, this research not only has identified that dominant historical discourses could support conservation of the historic environment, as it was the case with the historic city centre in Subotica, but they could also disrupt the efforts towards conservation of the historic city centres, as they did in Kragujevac.

Finally, little evidence had been found about the importance of organisational learning, except for the work of Margerum (2002) who identified that previous coordination successes have positive effect on new endeavours and build capacity for the future. This research has gone some way towards providing new insights on how organisational learning help organisations to learn and adapt (Chapter 8).

Tracing the puzzles

The first set of research questions sought to determine *how practices and local traditions that are contagious in the local policy arena influence a practice of governance of the historic city centres in Serbia, and how differences in organisational rationality lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas?* In order to address these questions this research has considered following aspects of the governance practice as constituent of organisational rationality: (1) the underlying logic of interactions within local governance networks in terms of their capacity to engage in a coordinative endeavour, cross organisational boundaries, ability to trust their partners and commit to learning, (2) the contexts and structures policy coordination took place locally, and (3) what was assumed as an appropriate kind of decisions to guide actions.

This research has identified two major types of organisational rationality, namely collaborative and partnership-based in Subotica, and formal-bureaucratic rationality in Pančevo and Kragujevac. The research has also observed based on the empirical data that it could be concluded that organisational rationality influence practices and local traditions and lead to divergences in interpretation of governance practice in different local policy arenas (detailed analysis is provided in the Chapter 8). As a possible explanation this research has asserted that each mode of organisational rationality can be coupled with the particular contexts and structures of policy coordination. So, collaborative and partnership-based rationality allows for a range of

policy coordination mechanisms to be employed, such as political, administrative and task-related coordination at the micro- and meso-coordination level. On the contrary, formal-bureaucratic rationality limits policy actors to political coordination at the meta-coordination level.

The last two research question sought to explain *why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and similarly, an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another, and what type of factors account for the differences in policy coordination between the local contexts?*

The findings of this research suggest that *the key features of successful policy coordination* include: uninterrupted and preferably prolonged opportunities for quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships ('village life'); a strong predisposition towards development of organisational culture which sustains learning and adaptation; an increased efficiency of policy coordination arena; and dominant historical discourses if they are supportive of heritage conservation and governance of the historic city centres (more detail account can be found in the Chapter 8).

In the same time, *the key obstacles to policy coordination* can be pinpointed to: the ownership over the domain as in that way policy domain becomes a territory of a particular department; the particular institutional settlements that could result in structural and legal constraints to policy coordination; the combination of factors that contribute to the poor quality of interpersonal and interorganisational relationships, and low efficiency of the policy coordination arena, such as infrequent/inadequate interorganisational communication, no previous relationships between conservation and planning, negative attitudes towards coordinative endeavour, lack of trust, reluctance to work on projects that require interorganisational coordination, culture of the short-term planning, and inertia; and dominant historical discourses if they are not supportive of policy coordination.

This research has concluded that it was difficult to provide a definitive explanation to why in similar circumstances would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, and why would an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another. However, as all the key features of successful policy coordination were observed in Subotica, it could be concluded that those represent type of factors that account for the differences between the local contexts. A note of caution is due here since it was not certain that these findings can be extrapolated to

all cases. However, it was possible to observe that two endogenous factors – ability of local polity to learn and adapt, and quality interpersonal and interorganisational relationships ('village life') – and dominant historical discourses supportive of heritage conservation as an exogenous factor account for the differences in policy coordination between the local contexts.

Implications for theory

The literature review presented in the Chapter 1 has been undertaken not only to establish what counts as knowledge in the field of this research, but also to establish what is currently known, so that it could then be determined what constitutes a contribution to knowledge. However, just because something hasn't been done before or explored in a particular context, country or discipline, it doesn't mean it makes a contribution to knowledge (Dunleavy, 2003; Phillips & Pugh, 2010). These advances are of interest because they add a new depth to our understanding of the phenomenon. However, in order to be called contributions these advances should represent important contributions or additions to knowledge.

This research fundamentally makes three contributions to knowledge. First, it provides interpretation of governance of the historic environment in the new context, namely Serbia. Systematic review of previous studies on micro-social and micro-political dimensions of planning and conservation practices identified only seven empirical studies. Settings covered by those studies include the UK, Spain, Mexico, the USA, Spain, Sweden and Palestine, while no previous research studied governance of the historic environment in Serbia. As elaborated in the literature review, policy actors do not create the world anew; their behaviour is socially constrained and their intentions are influenced by predispositions, conventions and rules which are time and context bound (Neuman, 2006; Vannini, 2008; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Therefore, conservation and governance of the historic environment is a contextualised and subjective process means taking into account what is meaningful to policy actors. This research adds to the existing body of knowledge by providing comprehensive interpretation of governance of the historic environment in the new context, namely Serbia.

Second, this research extends our knowledge on micro-social and micro-political aspects of heritage governance. In so doing, it applies interpretive approaches to

explore a research field that has been underresearched. Previous research covered the field to a very small extent. All of the seven studies taken together created very fragmented interpretation of what micro-social and micro-political aspects of heritage governance are. Furthermore, they overlooked some important perspectives and those gaps needed to be filled. As elaborated in the Chapter 8, this research adds a new depth to our understanding of the role of ideas in the practice of governance of the historic environment, and in particular, it extends our knowledge in relation to the role of dominant historic discourses and organisational learning. Also, it introduces concepts of domain and professional defensiveness to the field of governance of the historic environment and explains its importance for understanding the dynamics of policy process.

Finally, this research extends our knowledge about the policy coordination in urban governance and governance of the historic environment by identifying a range of factors that combined could inhibit or support an overall effort towards policy coordination. Furthermore, this research provided a comparison between the systematic review of previous research on policy coordination in urban governance and the findings of this research in order to identify noteworthy contributions to knowledge. Despite numerous similarities, this research has identified several contributions with the potential to extend our knowledge of policy coordination in governance of the historic environment (more detailed accounts of contributions made could be found in the Chapter 8). Those contributions are made in relation to how framing and understanding of the policy issues lead to effective policy coordination, and the importance of organisational learning.

Implications for further research

Two caveats need to be noted regarding the present research. Firstly, one of the weaknesses in an execution of the research was the bias towards official policy actors and the preponderance of formal planning practices. However, such bias would have been difficult to avoid as unofficial planning actors, such as local inhabitants or informal civic groups, were hard to trace. Also, informal processes of liaisons and coordination that span organisational boundaries, such as interpersonal contacts at meetings, boards and steering committees, were not captured as that would imply different research strategy, such as action research. As a consequence, this research has focussed mostly on formal avenues of policy coordination, while the impact of

informal relations between the policy actors and linkages at the micro-level haven't been researched. Therefore, more research would increase our understanding of the very complex casual processes underlying informal interactions among the policy actors, as well as examining how those impact boundary spanning, internal adjustments and interdependencies.

Secondly, data obtained from the interviews represent only a snapshot in time as they were collected from November 2008 to February 2011 and that could be a limiting factor in terms of scope of the findings or ability of this research to effectively answer the research questions. Therefore, longitudinal study would allow for mapping and describing how governance of the historic areas and policy coordination processes change over time, and it would help tracing some more stable social phenomena such as practices, traditions and local knowledge. Moreover, longitudinal study would help identify and better understanding of connections between the events that are widely separated in time, like in the case of historically developed discourses that resurface in public discourse from time to time.

Further studies need to be carried out in order to provide a more detailed exploration into the impact of relative power and personality on interpersonal relations in policy coordination. In analysing a relative power of the participants in policy coordination this research generally focussed on power relations between the departments and sectors in a local polity. Previous study of Ford, Wang and Vestal (2012) suggested that power relations should be analysed through interdependencies at the three levels: individual power, power between the sub-units within organisations, and interorganisational power. This research mainly captured perception of power at the interorganisational level, and more research is required to investigate the impact of individual power and power between the sub-units within organisations on policy coordination. Ethnographic approach would greatly increase the understanding of these complex processes.

Finally, more research is needed to better understand why given similar conditions would a barrier be identified in one policy arena and yet overcome in another, or an opportunity be created and seized in one situation and missed in another. This research has provided some explanations that should be taken with caution since it was not certain that these findings can be extrapolated to all cases.

Conclusion

This research started by asking if governance of the historic city centres can succeed in a complex array of actors, networks and organisations involved in the policy deliberation. The reason why this question lies in the heart of controversies in studying planning practice reaches far beyond the surface and grasp the micro-social dimensions of planning practices such as complex relations of power, political loyalties, interests, personal and collective identities. But how to reconcile the competing demands for preservation of character of the historic areas on the one hand, and management of growth as a response to changing societal needs on the other? The competing demands for preservation of character of the conservation areas on the one hand, and management of growth as a response to changing societal needs on the other, draw attention to the areas of underlying tensions (Kocabas, 2006; Nasser, 2003; Tiesdal, Oc, & Heath, 1996; Strange, 1997; Pendlebury, 2002). In other words, the policy actors are faced with the challenge how to ensure effective governance of the historic city centres as this process involves a great deal of coordination between different aspects of policy, various departments, organisations or policy sectors, the plan-making, as well as policy negotiation that could potentially infringe or support an overall effort.

This research demonstrated the complexity of policy process and the amount of coordination needed to address policy agenda. In particular, this research was set to *establish a more coherent and comprehensive grip on the complex, often chaotic reality being addressed by the policy actors in the process of governance of the historic city centres and the policy coordination entailed by that process*. In so doing, this research embraced the interpretative paradigm to examine conservation and governance of the historic city centres as a contextualised and subjective process that takes into account what is meaningful to policy actors. Meanings are context and situation specific and dependent on both expert and tacit knowledge held by relevant policy actors (Bevir & Rhodes, 2012; Forester, 1999b; Vannini, 2008; Yanow, 2007b). As a result, this theory-building research demonstrated that governance of the historic city centres is more complex than the literature suggested and it set a foundation for further research about of the topic.

Appendix 1

An overview of the interview questions

1. The main characteristics of protected historic urban core

- Could you explain what are the main characteristics of the designated historic city centre of Subotica / Pančevo / Kragujevac? Which cultural properties do you consider to be the most significant?
- Which aspects of the historic city centre do you regard as being most threatened?
- What do you think are the main areas for intervention (e.g. research, conservation, new functions for obsolete buildings, traffic, other)?

2. Limitations and interpretation of the legislation

- In which way built heritage conservation and town planning have been linked by the law (e.g. management plans, approval of work by different organisations, collaboration between organisations in charge for built heritage protection and town planning, etc.)? What in your opinion is limiting the historic city centres governance, if anything?
- Do you think that existing legal framework is sufficient for effective integration of built heritage conservation into planning and development? Why? Are there incoherencies or lacunae in legislation that have adverse impact on practice?
- Is there a problem with unauthorised construction works, and if so, explain how it manifests and what has been done to correct it?

3. Planning and governance of the historic city centres

- Could you comment on the divisions of the responsibility between organisations involved in planning, development and conservation of the historic city centres?
- How planning and development of protected historic city centres of Subotica / Pančevo / Kragujevac is being implemented in practice? What are the main aims, goals, priority activities?
- Are there established mechanisms for discussing, approving, monitoring and assessing of the on-going activities (e.g. built heritage conservation, technical surveys, preparation of the planning documents)?

4. Collaboration, cooperation and public participation

- How would you describe relationship between organisations in charge for town planning and heritage conservation? What contribute to such relationship? State the nature and frequency of the contacts – e.g. regular collaboration and transfer of data, periodic or occasional. Could you comment on how this relationship works, e.g. whether conservation officers have a role in town planning consultations process and decision making? Could you comment on the divisions of responsibility?
- Does your organisation collaborate with other sectors (e.g. business, civil, or public)? Could you comment on how that collaboration is taking place? Are there any ongoing projects which are implemented with other partners in the field of built heritage? What are those projects? Have they been recently completed? Are they being developed? Have they been planned or proposed?
- How public participation has been ensured? In which phases public participation takes place?

5. Funding

- How is work on conservation, rehabilitation and reconstruction of cultural properties and protected historic city centre being funded? Could you specify what different sources of funding are available?
- How is work on planning documents funded?
- How is work on documentation and research being funded?
- How much control or influence does the funding bodies/organisations have in directing the funding and monitoring its success?

6. Understanding of the meaning of different theoretical concepts and terminology emerged during the interview, such as – but not limited to – concepts revolving around heritage, development, conservation, or planning.

Appendix 2

List of the respondents

Institution	Position	Coding
Professionals		
Ministry of Culture, Department for International Cooperation Republic of Serbia	Head of the department	#01
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia	Director	#02
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia	Senior planning officer	#03
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia	Senior conservation officer	#04
Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade	Reader in Town Planning	#05
KULTURKLAMMER, Belgrade (charity organisation)	Director	#06
Balkan Community Initiatives Fund, Belgrade (charity organisation)	Project manager	#07
Case-study 1: SUBOTICA		
Subotica Town Planning Agency	Senior planning officer	#08
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Subotica	Director	#09
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Subotica	Senior conservation officer	#10
City Council, Department for building and construction permits	Head of the Department	#11
City Council, Department for construction and building inspection, Subotica	Senior construction and building inspector	#12
Subotica Land Development Agency	Deputy Director	#13
PROTEGO, Subotica (charity organisation)	Member of the Executive Board and Programme Director of Built Heritage Protection department	#14
Faculty of Civil Engineering, Subotica	Reader in History of Architecture	#15
Centre of Jewish Art, Serbia	Project coordinator	#16
Case-study 2: PANČEVO		
Pančevo Town Planning Agency	Senior planning officer	#17
Pančevo Town Planning Agency	Senior planning officer	#18
Regional Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo	Conservation officer	#19
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo	Conservation officer	#20
City Council Pančevo (Department for Culture and Media) and Regional Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo	Consultant for the built heritage development at the project 'Strategy for Cultural Development of Pančevo'	#21
City Council Pančevo, Department for building and construction permits	Head of the Department	#22

City Council Pančevo, Department for construction and building inspection	Head of the Department	#23
Refraction Team	Project manager	#24
Case-study 3: KRAGUJEVAC		
Kragujevac Town Planning Agency	Senior planning officer	#25
Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation, Kragujevac	Lawyer	#26
City Council Kragujevac, Department for construction and building inspection	Senior construction and building inspector	#27
City Council Kragujevac, Department for building and construction permits	Senior planning officer	#28
Member of the City Council in charge of the Investments and City Resources Development	Councillor	#29
Member of the City Council without the portfolio	Councillor	#30
NGO Millenium, Kragujevac	Project manager	#31

Appendix 3

Cross-cutting themes for data analysis

Themes	Sub-themes and issues
THEME 1: POLICIES AND IDEAS	
Analytic category 1: <i>Formulation of the policy problems and policy solutions</i>	Policy problems What is the stated role of the plan? How the key policy issues are defined? Is the nature of policy problems and solutions social, moral, economic, political, etc? Policy solutions The form and range of acceptable solutions to institutional problems; Who has the legitimacy to explain the causes and solutions of any particular policy problem? Distribution of authority Distribution of resources
Analytic category 2: <i>Ideas, theoretical concepts and approaches</i>	Understanding of the theoretical concepts , such as sustainable development, cultural heritage, heritage values, heritage development Skills and knowledge Organisational learning (approaches and methods deriving from practice) Other ideas emerging from the practice
THEME 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS	
Analytic category 3: <i>Political factors</i>	Political commitment, backing and leadership Professional ideologies, intentions and interests Political tradition and administrative culture related to the core beliefs and communication across policy sectors Organisational power, strategic position, prestige, authority - autonomy and ability to control policy outcomes, perceived effectiveness of policies and service delivery, ability to manage uncertainty and complexity, how conflicts are resolved
Analytic category 4: <i>Distribution of the financial means</i>	Allocation of budgets Availability of resources Costs vs. benefits Needs vs. available resources
THEME 3: MANAGEMENT, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS	
Analytic category 5:	Communication

<i>Process, management and instrumental factors</i>	<p>Frequency and motivation for communication with other organisations, departments and actors</p> <p>Collaboration, formal, informal, motivation for collaboration, the range of sectors, organisation and actors involved</p> <p>Networks, i.e. formal or informal local strategic planning partnerships</p> <p>Relationship and lines of accountability among actors</p> <p>Ability to take the diversity and multiformity of the network and actors into account</p> <p>Leadership and implementation</p> <p>Instruments in place, strategies, who's in charge</p> <p>Mechanisms for monitoring and implementation (how actors implement those)</p> <p>Management mechanisms in practice</p> <p>The ways the coordination problems and issues are resolved</p> <p>Tensions between individual autonomy (professional opinion) and accountability to the organisation</p> <p>Mechanisms to anticipate, detect and resolve policy conflicts early in the process</p>
<i>Analytic category 6: Behavioural, cultural and personal factors</i>	<p>Levels of trust between actors and sectors</p> <p>Personal input and initiatives</p> <p>Attitudes towards collaboration with organisation and actors in a joint endeavour</p> <p>Historical relationship among actors</p> <p>Shared framework of understanding</p>
THEME 4: BUREAUCRACY, INSTITUTIONAL SETTING AND LEGISLATION	
<i>Analytic category 7: Institutional and organisational setting</i>	<p>Bureaucracy</p> <p>Public administration's capacity to cope with the emerging issues and duties</p> <p>Procedures and how they are operationalised in practice?</p> <p>Institutional mandates and roles</p> <p>Institutional and organisational structure</p>
<i>Analytic category 8: Interpretation, limitation and application of the legislation</i>	<p>Policy congruence</p> <p>Policy incoherence</p> <p>Policy redundancy</p> <p>Policy lacunae</p>

Appendix 4

Excerpts from the interviews

Respondent #01

Q: If we can now speak a little more about other organizations, in addition to the Council of Europe and UNESCO that the Ministry of Culture cooperate with; first of all about the international NGOs. Can you specify with whom and how this cooperation takes place?

As far as international NGOs are concern, it is mostly limited to the expert visits, reports' writing, proposals for some projects, but even that is quite rare, and simply, the Ministry of Culture is such an organizations, agency of the State, that is directed towards the official, State-to-State co-operation. We would prefer if there would be more NGOs in our country focusing on the cultural and natural heritage, with whom we could share the whole story, because it's not just to share nice things; there is a lot of work as well. So this cooperation is much, much, much weaker, and just now if we would do a survey of the situation here, we would find a very weak capacity of the NGO sector in this area. Why? Well, I do not know. I fear that any answer I would offer is based on irrational criteria. There is a deeply grounded belief here, that everyone should be – as individual, or nation, or however you want, the people – proud of our heritage. But the obligation to invest in heritage and to preserve it, it is exclusively of the State. You have a large number of patrons who build churches today and give huge amounts of money to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Very few donors will say that they will donate to the State fund to maintain frescos. It is considered that the government should take care of it. When something is under State's protection, it is only the State's responsibility.

Q: What are the priorities of the Sector for international cooperation within the Ministry of Culture?

So, the priorities are European integrations and cultural diversity. Cultural heritage, as much as I can see, is not a priority. Do not ask me why. I think it's a

matter of political choices of the leading structures. There are no documents, political documents that support it.

Q: The next question that I would like to ask is about the legislation in the field of cultural heritage and the international conventions, and how they (international conventions) influence the change of legislation here?

They don't really influence any change in legislation. We work according to the law from 1994. I was in the two committees in charge for the new law. Whether because of the structure of the Committee, whether because of our incapability, I was finally, in both cases, especially after the first attempt, I was pleased that the Committee failed to produce a document. Some international charters were ratified by former Yugoslavia. The others were signed last year (2007) – [European] Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, European Landscape Convention, and Faro Convention. The other conventions are ratified at the time of the former Yugoslavia, because back then, we had a very well-timed State in relation to ratification of the international agreements. As a result, when you do not have the laws, you do not have the guidelines for their application. In professional circles there is very good will to change things, but things do not change.

Q: What do you think is the biggest problem? Why does this happen?

I do not know where to start, err; I do not know who is guiltier. The biggest problem is that there is an ossified institutional system, a system that is very old, but that is very firmly settled. And the system does not allow changes. And of course they blame the politicians who allow it all the time. You have the Offices for Cultural Heritage Preservation that do not really care for things to change at high speed. They are much more eager to hold cultural property for 10 or 15 years on the budget and that's what they do. You have a system where the preservation of cultural monuments is concerned as an activity of a high cultural and professional prestige; not as a need to change the quality of the environment in which citizens live. And then final product is a good monograph of the cultural heritage of a city, while cultural properties collapse. And citizens are not connected to their heritage.

Understanding of the cultural heritage here has been influenced by Winckelmann's approach that is acknowledging only some historical, artistic and aesthetic values. There is an understanding here, formed for the last few decades, that cultural heritage is a matter of experts and science, and that it is not

a matter of the citizens. Why someone has to care that Miloš Hamam [Turkish bath] in Belgrade is destroyed and he turned into a cafe Monument. We cannot even identify that it used to be a Hamam. But fortunately, at least there is something left, some parts, otherwise if that did not happen, the responsible authorities [the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation in charge] would fail their duty to care about the cultural property. The problem is that in the legislation you do not have clearly defined managers of the cultural properties, except in some cases. No one manages the Smederevo Fortress, for example. It turned out that when Belgrade Fortress Company was formed to manage the fortress, for 5 years it progressed fantastically. They made a profit. So how is it that before the Fortress had no money? So what changed to make it possible? That is something that needs to be explained.

Those are the obstacles. Let's say a lack of awareness, lack of knowledge about what is done elsewhere. When I say elsewhere I do not think in England and France, but rather in Bulgaria and Romania.

Q: Can you tell me what are the main changes to the existing legislation that have been provided in the draft version of Cultural Heritage Act?

None, so that is why they failed. An attempt was made {pause}. In fact, there is one thing built heritage conservation sector never accepted, that is to completely transform current system of institutions. To create an effective and well-territorially distributed state Agency; to create a strong and technically, and educationally, scientifically set inspection. To spread conservation activities and, as much as possible, privatize them, open up for international collaborations, and to actually have a law aimed at establishing the relationship of heritage and citizens; the relationship to be based on the legacy of human rights, not that it regulates primarily institutional structure, which is primarily aimed here. Working Group sits here for days discussing how to choose the director and who will manage and how to arrange professional exams {licences for conservation officers}. That is not at all concern of the citizens, and it should not be a matter of law. This should be a matter of sub-legal documents and organizational schemes. But actually in this way shows that those who receive assignments, mainly the task of using their privileges to create or even stronger, or if you are strong enough to tighten them yet.

On the other hand, we were offered to use the help of the Council of Europe in drafting our legislation. That help has never been used.

Q: So, that help is available?

It is available, as a component A in the program [Council of Europe's assistance program]. This component is about the institutional capacity, which means, not that people will come to us from Denmark, Sweden, Finland to write the law, but that there will be someone who has worked so far on international documents or state laws, who is well-established in its field, who will give us a direction, or simply read our law, give advice and so on.

Respondent #02

Q: Are there any specific examples of trying to make a step forward with the Draft Bill (Cultural Heritage Act)? What are the concrete issues that Working Group discussed?

There are some details concerning professional licenses. Then, the ways in which people become qualified to work as conservation officers. This segment should not undergo serious changes in the Draft of the Cultural Heritage Act, because things are now quite formal – one formally finishes University studies, work for one year at the Office, and pass the State's Exam in conservation and becomes a professional in built heritage conservation. One can be conservation professional although he or she never did or wrote anything and even if years have passed from the last time he or she worked in the built heritage conservation sector. We do not want it to be more difficult, but to have conservation officers with some more experience when they receive professional license that will allow them to provide better results, either academic or practical as the conservation officers.

Then we had a proposal on how to control the quality of what each of us is doing. There is some hierarchy of the Offices for Cultural Heritage Preservation here – local, regional, republic - and then when you reach the level of the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia, under the law, you had no obligation – since there is no higher institutions except the Ministry of Culture, and they are not dealing with the preservation – to have technical documentation and studies approved. That was a little bit ground-breaking – to determine who does what and who is responsible for what. This was primarily related to archaeological excavations, because this is now the responsibility of the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation, various Institutes, Museums, and Faculties.

No country has such a mess; different institutions that are in the hands of different Ministries. We do not have the power to say what we want to do. For instance we

have planned some funding from the Ministry of Culture for a project, and another institution has funding from the Ministry of Education and Science for the same project. Here, I think we should make some order, to see who does what, although there are some procedures defined in the guidelines but that is not legally binding. The Law is a general legal framework, and now that I am talking about it, now I understand that the Law has a lot of articles because we were trying to solve every single thing within the law, which in fact is not possible. Laws would then have to have thousands and thousands articles.

I had a look at the Croatian law recently – it is quite clear. It was changed a few times, and when I last time met some colleagues from Croatia, they told me that they need to make a serious reorganization, and to go through another change of the law. The Law is a static thing and everything else is dynamic. There are some professional attitudes in relation to the postulates of the built heritage conservation that are not so rigid and they are changing. There is a duality there - some conservation officers think that some things are given once and for all, and others think that nothing is given once and for all, that things are moving and that they have to be seen as changeable. In other words, those things are changing much faster than the Law. And so, I think that these laws in our country, that are being adopted over a number of the years, as the epochal achievements, in fact make a real problem. For instance, the Planning and Construction Act, since 2000 it has been changed three times, while Cultural Heritage Act haven't been even drafted. Therefore we are in a totally unequal situation, because we say 'in our Law it is not so'; then they reply 'well, that Law is from 1994'. Yes, but it doesn't matter from which year the Law is until is in force it is binding for us. However, as our law is in growing conflict with the planning law, we are having more problems, because we cannot find a link that we expect to find because they went ahead. Some people claim that they did not. In any case, they did something and made changes – so they went ahead.

Q: What in your opinion is the biggest challenge for coordination between the Planning and Construction Act and Cultural Heritage Act? What creates the biggest problems? Where is the gap?

Well, firstly, everyone uses their own law as a framework to work - the incompatibility of laws.

Another thing is a lack of coordination – absolute lack of coordination at the horizontal level; especially between Ministries. Cities have this slightly better resolved, because they make decisions in one place. However, there are parts of the cities that just do not belong only to the City Councils, but also to the

Ministries, as they are the monuments of the exceptional importance. That complicates everything. Because of the ambiguity of laws and their minimal applicability, people are saying that laws are always restrictive, and we do not offer anything but we ask much; people behave the way they behave [respondent refers that people do not follow the provisions in the Cultural Heritage Act in relation to cultural properties conservation].

The third thing is a fiscal policy. You own a cultural property and we [Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia] always demand something from you. We do not offer a favourable loan; constantly inform you that it is your responsibility to maintain the property, while we know that your salary is 500EUR. And since you have such a small salary, I know I cannot subtract maintenance costs from your salary, because I will push you below the minimum living costs. We are looking at each other with our eyes closed. So, I'll ask you to do it, but I will not require that you do it. If it is in your interest, you will do it [maintain the cultural property]. If not, you can always justify your actions somehow.

I don't even think that the Law is a problem; there are the Rules on Permitted Development and conservation officers know how they work. The problem is a lack of clear direction, a lack of [built heritage] conservation politics. If you want to preserve something, you need to know how. We provide the Rules on Permitted Development, and the Plan says how it should look like. I cannot tell you 'I don't care, you should not live there, although your grandparents and great-grandparents lived there; move to a suburb because I want you to', just because I'm the one who made the Plan which is completely outside the realm of reality.

On the other hand, Plans do not count on what the real possibilities are, but what is an ideal. The ideal does not exist, except in the Plans. Also, each of us dealing with urban areas brings some of our own ideas into the existence. However, when we have to bring those ideas at the same level, then it turns out that they are not possible at the same level, although all plans have passed the whole procedure and that should be possible. And then what happens, every now and then, we have to go through the process of legalization [of unauthorised construction works], although none of us understands what that means. I can say you can legalize your window facing the courtyard, but I cannot say you can legalize two floors built without a building permit on top of the cultural monument that is of exceptional importance for our country. That would be an example for the others to say 'I will do the same and the time will come for that to be legalized'.

We have a lot of proposals for legalization of something that was built in Novi Pazar². Novi Pazar, from being the City that was an example of a good idea now became a complete anarchy. That can no longer even be called architecture. Proposals to legalize – those would refer to either already legalized building or a cultural property. We can legalize small changes, but we cannot legalize changes that will degrade cultural property. That may be possible in Kaluđerica, but not in Novi Pazar. But if we let that happen in Novi Pazar, then we have a previous step which is called 'this is no longer a cultural property'. This is the beginning, and consequently, people do not follow the law, because we have no executive power. We cannot say 'we prohibit carrying out of works on that particular cultural property'. Then the owner complains usually to the Ministry of Culture. But this is not the end. To implement something like this we have to appoint the inspection. Then depending on which level this is, the City's or the Republic's inspection. And then if they cannot enforce the law, then they have to call the police. And that altogether takes time. Then the owner appeal in court. The thing is that everything is possible; it is just a matter of prices. Also, why would you obey the law if someone else will manage to get his way?

People come here and say 'I did everything the way you said, I spent more money than I thought, and my neighbour has now applied for legalization, and he will get away with it. Why I was crazy to listen to you?' You don't have a single argument to say that he cannot behave like he did. Law should be there to guide you to do it properly. People come to you and say 'the law says this, but the plan says that'. Spatial plan is also a legal document and we have to follow it.

Thirdly, people are used to frequent changes of the Plans. If the State decided to little-by-little change the Plans, and if they are unable to pass the test of time, then one believes that if you wait a little longer, the time will come when all this will be changed. The City of Novi Pazar is a fantastic example; it is unbelievable what is happening there. We have a conservation area that is of the exceptional importance and what gives us such an opportunity to act, but then we made a nightmare of our lives by our doings and non-doings. We effectively prevented a normal life from happening there with what we done. Why, I don't understand

Q: What is actually limiting built heritage conservation to be integrated in a more succinct way into town planning strategies?

First of all, the term 'conservation area' doesn't have the meaning neither for the town planners, the citizens, or for the ones who implement the Plan, because they

² Unauthorised construction works in Serbian law became a criminal offense only in 2002. Previously it was considered a civil offense punishable by the administrative fine.

imply that the only cultural property that has its 'identity card' can be declared as a cultural property. Everything else is called 'a gray zone'. We say 'that a conservation area is the area that has differently ranked cultural properties, and of course, different levels of preservation'. So in Knez Mihailova Street there was, but not anymore, places that were not only the gray zone, but zone in which one can make changes, and remove buildings to build new ones in the harmony with the existing setting, whatever that means.

However, that is not enough because a basic starting point of the town planners is that each town planner should dislike conservation officers, while conservation officer should have professional principles that he will never change. Between these two very strong fronts, there is a very deep gap. I cannot claim that the town planners are always wrong, and that the conservation officers are always right, but we should be able to talk about it, especially because conservation areas also have some of the Rules on Permitted Development already at the time of designation. Unfortunately, some of the Designation Decisions for the conservation areas are very old and should be changed as the postulates of the conservation practice have changed since. We can reach the agreement with the town planners so that together we have coherent ideas, but then there is a public consultation process. Anyone who has a cultural property within the conservation area has different needs which are very difficult then to balance. That is why Plans are implemented very slowly. And even when the Plans are adopted and become binding, general public do not have enough information about it; something is always missing in the Plans and they are hard to implement. That's why our cities look like they do. You can see exactly where the Plan has been implemented and where not. We have a half and half situations - one half of the street redeveloped, the other not.

Additionally, the problem of our Plans is – and, of course we are the part of it – that sometimes they are too detailed, so in the Plan for Knez Mihailo Street [the main pedestrian street in Belgrade] literally every building got detailed information about the amenities that should be located in there. Of course, that is impossible in practice. It may be possible at the time Plan was adopted, when we had a centralized state, and when the shops in the street belonged to the State. In the time of liberal capitalism, we cannot plan that. That's one small thing that leads us to the question of why our Plans are not implementable. In Knez Mihailo Street we had small shops at the ground floors and apartments at the other floors, and now we have hotels. For this to happen we had to refurbish the entire buildings. And not only that, we have more people there, and service vehicles need access to the buildings and so on.

Respondent #10

Q: How built heritage conservation gets integrated into planning strategies? In which way the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation has participated in drafting planning strategies?

We integrate our conclusions into all these Plans. We make them as detailed as these Plans require. Of course, we participated in the drafting of the Municipality's Spatial Plan, and in work on the City Development Plan. For the latter one, we did a significance assessment for each building. Maybe we made them a bit too detailed for the City Development Plan just because of the problems we had previously when our involvement was much marginalised. We assessed the significance of each cultural property for the City Development Plan and decided on guidelines for its preservation. Furthermore, for the Detail Regulation Plan, we've included very detailed Rules on the Permitted Development. Each plot and building were assessed from the historical point of view, the characteristics of its style and its values. Also, the measures concerning preservation of the buildings are presented – what is allowed and what is possible to do with the building. So, all this is defined in accordance to the significance assessment for each particular building – the more significant building is the more stringent measures are. For plots where demolition is planned, we provided some guidelines for the new buildings in terms of their disposition, but also architecture. In detailed measures, for each urban block we made drawings of the facades, as well as for each street, we've included street views. We have also provided proposals for the height of the buildings. Since most of the problems we have concern the construction of new buildings, their heights, their architecture, quality of the materials used, and many other things, but mostly concern the heights, we decided to define detail measures that will identify the height of these buildings, not number of floors, as we have done in the past. So, we defined heights of the building – height of the ridge and eaves. These heights are connected to the buildings nearby that are kept. Basically, we tried to match the height of eaves and ridges of the new buildings with the existing ones. In any case, drawing the street views, we are able to see what is really appropriate to be fitted into that environment. Of course, we didn't deal with the architecture here, but we agreed on certain guidelines for the new buildings, its materials, proportions and rhythm of openings and some other elements that would be appropriate in this protected area.

Q: In addition to the Rules on Permitted Development for the conservation area does City Development Plan for Subotica and Palić contains some guidelines for the strategic development of the historic city centre? Is the built heritage preservation an integral part of the town planning process?

Well, what we insist on, for a long time now, is that this City has to decide on its development strategy, and it seems in fact that the historic city centre's role in the development of the City it is not yet defined. To be exact, there is not either a commitment to preserve and conserve it, nor a clear idea what is the function of the City centre. Of course we can suggest, but we cannot ourselves decide on the strategy. Of course, the City should play a decisive role. Will it be tourism? What will be the City's function? How will we approach conservation of the cultural properties within the conservation area? All that we do, all of that remains on paper, while specific proposals and strategies to achieve this, financial backing, some concrete activities for revitalisation of the city centre, I think that they are not a part of the Plans, and that is what is missing in this strategy - that commitment and routine so that Plans could be implemented.

Q: When it comes to preservation of cultural properties, are there some priorities established? Are some cultural properties recognized as a priority through the plans?

Of course, priority depends of their importance, as well as the condition they are in. However, the way we approach work on the protection, conservation and restoration of these buildings still depends on funding available. We initiate particular cultural properties to be protected. We apply for funding from the Region [of Vojvodina] and the Republic of Serbia. Of course, always with the most significant and vulnerable cultural properties, and therefore works are carried out gradually on the Synagogue, cultural property that is out of the function but of great importance. Fund for preservation of the Synagogue has been established, and it works. Unfortunately, the National Theatre has been restored in the way we are not completely satisfied, but these works continue to move on thanks to availability of funding. While in the City centre most of these cultural properties are privately owned, their maintenance and restoration is always depending on private initiative, and of how much the owners are interested and able to invest in their property. A few years ago, the Land Development Agency initiated a special fund for facades' restoration, and each year they choose few of the most vulnerable, most precious, beautiful buildings for restoration of the facade and roof. Interiors are not touched because they are privately owned in most of the cases. In some cases the City owns the office spaces situated at the ground floors of those buildings. So one street – Dumitrija Tucovića Street – has been slowly restored.

Q: Do the private owners have a right to participate in town planning and preparation of the Plans? Are they recognized as an interest group that should take an active role in cultural properties preservation and planning?

Well, private owners are generally aware of the cultural significance of their properties, but they do not participate in the work on strategy themselves.

Q: Were private owners informed that strategy is being made? Were they contacted in any way?

From our side, nothing has been done, since it is a large number of people living in the City centre, but I think that town planners, during their assessments, had contacts with the private owners who are interested in a larger investments and interventions in the City centre. Private owners were able to offer comments and suggestions on the draft Plan that was publicly available.

Q: The next topic I wanted to discuss with you is about collaboration that you have with other institutions. Which institutions, together with yours, took part in the widest range of activities related to planning of the conservation area? Apart from the Planning Agency who did you collaborate with?

We mainly worked with the Town Planning Agency, on the Rules on Permitted Development, of course. The Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation of the Republic of Serbia was also informed about it. We even asked for their opinion and approval when the draft Plan has been finalised, as there were many comments and objections after the public consultations, so Planning Commission decided that the Republic's Office will be consulted from that point on. On this occasion it was also decided to define the height of the eaves and ridges on which we insist for a long time. So, that is now done in details for the first time. Until now, we based our decisions on those common guidelines for the cultural properties, the buildings of some value, or special value [respondent refers to the Rules on Permitted Development that are defined for each category of designated cultural properties]. So far, we didn't prepare Rules on the Permitted Development individually for each cultural property and for each plot. And because we didn't do it, there were problems with the City, and with the civic association PROTEGO. It is a civic association interested in preserving the City's heritage. They had many objections, so we decided to define Rules on the Permitted Development in this way. That gave us a little bigger role in all of this; a little more opportunity to participate in determining the parameters of the development [respondent refers to the Rules on Permitted Development]. We

also agreed that the opinion on the proposal will be obtained from to the Office for Cultural Heritage Protection of the Republic of Serbia. However, when we sent them our proposal, they thought that since the conservation area is only of the great importance, they have no jurisdiction over it. I think that we were not even given any official opinion. It was all left to us to define Rules on the Permitted Development in accordance with the Cultural Heritage Act; certain adjustments were then agreed with colleagues from the Town Planning Agency.

Q: If you agree with me, town planners often insist on the construction indexes, defining number of floors of the buildings - how does it affect built heritage preservation, and is it a problem to integrate built heritage conservation and its Rules on the Permitted Development into a town planning strategy?

We are constantly in conflict. Of course, it is in their interest to widen the streets for some more sunlight, to build as much buildings as possible and have the maximum of the square meters of built space. Of course, the town planners insist on the construction indexes, and they are always at the maximum. Parking is a problem; lack of green areas is a problem as well, so we are always in conflict. We are always narrowing the streets, they are widening them. We want lower buildings in order to match the surroundings; they add more floors and square meters of built space. However, I must say that recently, in some ways, we are managing to reach an agreement and we both hope that there will be no more bad decisions as it was until recently as some buildings got location permit out of our control. Those are built in the City centre - a four-story, five-storey buildings next to a single-story buildings and that really is a problem and contributes to a chaotic and ugly image of this City. It seems to me that in future we will have no such problems, especially as they [town planners] agreed and accepted to incorporate our Rules on the Permitted Development into the Detailed Regulation Plans. With all our rules and guidelines that are now incorporated into planning documents, it seems to me that we are achieving better and better collaboration. Right now, we started to work on a Zone 3. We even made some 3D models and presentations just to see how it will look. The Zone 3 has been finished now. That 3D model helped us and them to understand the area, so with the 3D model we could even manage to convince them that an extensive number of floors was not adequate for this area, so it seems to me that we have made some progress in collaboration.

Respondent #17

Q: What about ongoing problems in terms of physical, legal, financial or other nature; what kind of problems conservation area and designated cultural properties are facing?

There are a lot of problems. But I cannot speak about them as a planner, because as a planner I do not see the problems. Neither do any of my colleagues. I see the density index, the coefficients and maximums. Those who can fit into it – they fit. How that architecture looks like, as a planner I am not interested, unfortunately. That is right, no one wants to carry out that responsibility, because no one gave it to him. Since I managed to work at two institutions, and to collaborate with the Department for Building and Construction Permits from both positions, I can see that we here are simply missing one body, "A Council of the Wise Men", or a City's Architect. There was the Statute of the City of Dubrovnik in 1272, where general guidelines were written, and there was a Council who could say 'this you cannot do; go and do it again'. Why?

When we talk about, let's say the erection of a new building between two designated cultural properties – they [town planners] really do not care about a building; they are interested in the setting. Conservation officers issue their preservation criteria, and they let's say state that a building must not be higher than the GF+2 or higher than the ridge of a cultural property's roof, it must be made of natural materials, it must have a plain roof tiles, it must follow the rhythm of the facades of the surrounding buildings, and an even number of openings, and so on. And that is where conservation officers completely exhaust their powers, and architects are left a freedom to design building under these conditions. Town planners did their job already. They gave their construction index, the coefficients, and investor fitted in. He had a chartered architect to design his building. The Department for Building and Construction Permits furthermore says – 'conservation officers didn't say this but you have a right to have a dormer window, and this or that kind of gutters'. He fits in, and everything is perfect, and he gets the permit, because he did according to all required conditions. And when that building is finished, people stop and say 'what is this'? And they all did a great job. Everyone did what is under their jurisdiction and the architect had a license!? No one can deny that what is it beautiful to him, can be beautiful to me too. But that doesn't mean that it is appropriate for the setting in which it is embedded, and such things happen. And from the perspective of planners, the moment Plan was adopted, we forget about the buildings. We do not even control the implementation of the Plan. The implementation of the Plan is controlled by the Department for Building and Construction Permits. So if GF+6 building is being built, it is no longer responsibility of the conservation officers, nor of the

town planners, but the Department. How it happened that they allowed it to be built? And then, the Department have their interpretation.

First of all, there is a lack of professional communication among the actors involved in the decision making and the development of the City, conservation officers, town planners and those who issue building and construction permits; there is no final opinion, because we are completely asocial, and each one of us can sit in its office and not call on the phone the other for 10 years. Everyone has his own law which define his authority and responsibility, and I don't have to see ever any of the conservation officers, or anyone from the Department for Building and Construction Permits. That is what law allows us. What's more, if I initiate a project I might become suspicious, because why doing something that is not your job. You have to have some interest or you went beyond your authority.

Q: Is the cultural properties' function – given that many industrial buildings in the City are out of function and are left as such - treated in some way through the Plans, by some priority activities? Is it recognized as something that should be incorporated into planning documents?

So when the Office for Cultural Heritage Protection issues Rules on the Permitted Development for any of the Plans, those do not address, nor take into account the density index. They tell me only this building is of the exceptional importance, this one is of the great importance, and that one is a protected cultural property. For those particular buildings I have Rules on the Permitted Development. And those rules say: a floor can be added, nothing can be changed, or only the restoration of a building is permitted. Also, in some areas it is permitted to reconstruct a block and build new buildings upon receiving Permitted Development guidelines from the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation. All these rules are in text form and they are integral part of the Plan. A parallel map goes and it says: We have a zone of maximum GF+4. That is in force unless the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation says otherwise. So, that is another reason that we never have to talk to each other. This will only interpret person in charge for issuing location permits. Information is not integrated within one map. It is not a situation that someone can just take the map out and say 'at this plot you cannot build anything', or 'this plot is protected and this density index is not valid'. So, there is not much communication. But there are two parallel maps which are then interpreted by the department for building and construction permits, which further refers clients to the other institutions.

Q: There is another issue that I wanted to talk about with you, and it regards the legal framework for the town planning. Does the legal framework provide you with the mechanisms for cultural heritage protection, having in mind that the General Plan is a binding legal document? In your opinion, can built heritage conservation and development become a part of the town planning strategies sufficiently in order to provide for area-based conservation and preservation of single monuments?

There is no legislation stating who should be dealing with it [policy coordination]; someone who will simply implement and connect two institutions. Cultural Heritage Act dates back from the 1994. Since then, I think, Planning and Construction Act has been amended three times. Planning and Construction Act has its own terminology for restoration and reconstruction of the buildings. This terminology is opposite to what is written in the Cultural Heritage Act, which dates back 15 years ago and it also does not contain the guidelines for management of the world heritage and so on. We have a problem with regular communication. What is written in one law, it is not a reconstruction in the second law. And then when we talk: 'but my law says so and so, and yours is different' – like not all laws are our laws, and then it seems that the best way is that each of us stick to its own law that gives him or her the authority and responsibilities – meaning the main law in his or her sector. What the other is saying is his hmmm (problem).

Q: How is the economic development of the city centre dealt with through planning documents?

It is not and we feel it every day. The centre is treated the same as the suburbs of Pančevo, within the planning documents. Concerning relationship with the investors and the overall development of the City, no one has defined the area of the city centre, what is the rent in the centre, what amenities are allowed, what are the rules or guidelines on Permitted Development and maintenance of the facades in the centre, whether its owners should finance it themselves, or someone that will co-finance under certain conditions, whether they are required to maintain it, what happens with graffiti, what happens if someone sells burgers in the middle of the City and smell spread everywhere. Do we only have sports and jewellery shops in the city centre, and have no bakery to buy bread, except for the supermarket Maxi? No one pays attention to that.

Whether some buildings are out of use simply because gypsies used to live there, and now it is much more expensive to invest in them in order to make them liveable again, as the local government has only 5 years mandate and it would take 10 years of investments, so we will just let them deteriorate. Whether some

shops are empty because that is in someone's interest, instead of renting them for a more competitive price? How office space in the city centre should be used? Is someone going to rent it and maintain it, or who gives more? I think that there is no register of available office space. There are problems and maybe conservation officers made mistake, for instance, if they were not far-sighted, so let's say 15 years ago they decided to designate a cultural property and keep its authentic and original materials and its appearance. And it happens that the owner died the next day and house starts deteriorating. And now the Office for Cultural Heritage Preservation has to change their decision about the designation of the cultural property. To reverse the decision is very complicated and almost impossible and they cannot work against themselves and therefore they themselves destroyed cultural property, the one they wanted to protect, because they were not far-sighted to know what will happen tomorrow; that the roof will collapse, and that there will be no one to repair it.

All our procedures are very long, meaning bureaucracy. Procedure for the Cultural Property's Designation takes at best 3 to 4 years. And then, a complete change of government, and each time it all starts again. One of mine Designation Decisions was held once on the ice while Radical Party was in power. I know that nothing in Serbia while they were in power was designated as a cultural property for three years. And then the procedures have been changed, so we started from the beginning. This is happening at the local level as well.

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